

THE
COURSE OF HANNIBAL

OVER
THE ALPS

ASCERTAINED.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

COURSE OF HANNIBAL.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

— I. —

HAVING now placed Hannibal in defiance of all opposition, triumphant on the plain of Great St. Bernard, and by the temple of the god Peninus, on the only travelled Alps of the time; I proceed to shew the state of its inhabitants, and to detail the operations of Hannibal upon it.

By this track up the northern side of the Alps, along which I have carried Hannibal and the Gauls to the top, these Alps were not only traversed but peopled. There was equally no road over them, and no inhabitant upon them, about four hundred years before Hannibal. "In the reign of the Elder "Tarquin at Rome," says Livy in that memorable passage, which first shows the Alps to our eyes in the perspective of history; Bellovesus marched to these Alps, and searched for an avenue through

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them into Italy. These "indeed I wonder not," adds Livy, as I must again repeat from him, "to have been then "considered as unfurmountable, "when (according to the settled tradition, unless we "chuse to credit the fables concerning Hercules) "THEY HAD NEVER YET BEEN SURMOUNTED BY "THE FOOT OF TRAVELLERS". This forms a very striking æra, in the history of these Alps; when they lifted their broad backs into the sky, un-ascended by the feet of man, un-ascendible in the imaginations of man, a steep and lofty ridge of thickets, a region of solitude, silence, and shadows; for miles up the mountains, formidable to the eye from the very solemnity of their vast woods, and carrying a chill of terror to the soul, from the very vacuity of human life within them.

Such was this range of mountains at that period, "according to the settled tradition" of Livy's days, "unless we chuse to credit the fables of Hercules!" These "fables" gave an earlier date, to the first passage over the Alps, and to the first population upon them; referring both to another point of the mountains, by representing Hercules to have left a number of his followers upon *Little-St. Bernard*, and to have gained it the appellation of the Graian Hill,

* Livy v. 34. "Prisco Tarquinio Romæ regnante," and "quas in-exsuperabiles vias haud equidem miror, nullâ dum viâ (quod quidem continens memoria sit, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet) superatas."

from

from the Græcians thus settled upon it^b. But this "fable" was in all probability derived, from the general tradition of Hercules's passage out of Italy into Gaule and Spain; and from the accidental coincidence of the Celtick name of this hill in sound, with the name of the Graii or Græcians under him. We know from the testimony of Livy before, that the hill actually bore the appellation of CRE-MO; one very similar to that of our *Gram*-pian mountains, certainly Celtick therefore, and most probably the origin of the other^c. We have already seen a similar coincidence,

^b Pliny iii. 20.

^c Livy xxi. 38. "Coelius per Cremonis Jugum dicit transisse." Even when history makes us *generally* right in etymology, it is difficult to *show* that rightness in particular instances. But since the hills would naturally be named, because they were seen, *before* they were inhabited, as our Albion evidently was; I suppose the word in Celtick, which gave birth to the name of "Graia Alps," to be this. Crûg (Welsh) a hillock; a heap, a rick, Cryg (W) a mount, Grwg (W) heath or ling, and Craig (W) a rock, a crag; Crucach (Irish) a heap, Cruach (I) a rick, Carrig, Craig (I) a rock, Creaghach and Creagmhar (I) rocky; "Cruc Ochident," "i. e. Cumulus Occidentalis" (Nennius xxiii. Gale. and notes), for the promontory of *Ushant*; Cruguel (Cornish and Armorick) a hillock, Crechen (C and A) a little mount, Grug (C) a mount, Gryg (C) a heath, and Grachel (C) a heap: are all derived from Crech (C) and Krech (A) high. This very word, pronounced *Grach* and *Gray*, as *Grech* (I) is to this day pronounced in our *Grey-hound*, and as *Martignac*, the name of the town from which we have ascended the Alps, is always pronounced and frequently written *Martigny*, would give appellation to the *Graian* hills; as when pronounced *Gram*, like *Cragmhar* above, it would denominate the same hills *Crem-o*, and our British hills *Gram-pian*.

coincidence, moulding the name of the "*Peninæ* Alps" successively, into *Paninæ* and *Panæ*; and then adduced as an evidence of a fact, to which it had no relation. But we even see this very principle applied to Hercules, in this very manner, at another point of the Alps. "The Lepontii," says Pliny, "are thought by Cato to be of the race of the Taurici; *almost every one else believes from an interpretation of their name as a Greek one, that they were men left by the army of Hercules, because their limbs had been benumbed with the snow, in passing the Alps; that the Graii too were of the same origin, settled, as he passed, in habitations upon the Graian Alps; and that the Euganei were of the same, men well-descended, and therefore called Euganei*." These are three cases exactly the same;

A valley extending along the Isère, in the Alps that lead one way up to the Graian hills, and forming a considerable district of which the capital is Grenoble, is denominated *Graisi-vaudan* at present; just as a vale on the other side of these Graian hills, is equally denominated *Val Grig-anche* (map to Saussure, vol. iii. and Saussure ii. 343); as a hill to the east of Great St. Bernard is called *Gris* or *Grias*, to this day (Simler 43 and Coxe iii. 312); and as another, much more to the east, is denominated Mount *Gray* (Simler 268).

The inhabitants of these Graian hills were plainly acknowledged for Celts, by their Celtick neighbours; as they were distinguished in an additional part of their name, by an appellation indubitably Celtick. They were, as we have seen before, denominated *Graiceli*; and *Grai ochel* is just the same, as the name of the *Ochel Hills* in Scotland.

^d Pliny iii. 20. "Lepontios—Tauricæ gentis—Cato arbitratur. Cæteri fere Lepontios reliquos ex comitatu Herculis, interpretatione
"tione

same; and all the three origins are derived from the same source, the sportiveness of ignorance in the fields of history. But ignorance destroyed its own work at once, by the precipitation of its folly. It assigned, and with a near equipoise of absurdity for each, no less than *three* different courses over the Alps to Hercules. It carried him over the more easterly Alps, because it found there the Euganei; a national appellation, that sounded like a word in Greek. But when once the balloon is let loose in air, and the imagination is riding the clouds in etymology; if there is no steerage of history to conduct us, we may be driven we know not where. Accordingly those Romans, who went up in the balloon of etymology before the days of Pliny, lighted upon two other parts of the Alps, and there found equal proofs of Hercules's passage over them. As they flew thence toward the west, and approached Great St. Bernard, they found the Lepontii; a denomination, which tinkled to the ear like another word in Greek, and was therefore made an evidence of Hercules's passage over that part of the Alps also. Then the balloon falling above the Pennine Alps, because this name would not chime with any word in Greek; it anchored once more upon the Graian because the name of this would, and affirmed Hercules to have

"tione Græci nominis, credunt, præstitis in transitu Alpium nive
 "menbris; ejusdem et Graios fuisse, positos in transitu, Graiarum
 "Alpium incolas, præstantesque genere Euganeos, inde tracto no-
 "mine."

gone across the Little St. Bernard too. It thus renders Hercules, like his antagonist Geryon, a being with three bodies; and so gives a separate passage through the Alps, to each of them. But, not content with all this frippery of folly, it even added another passage to all the rest. "The *first* road" over the Alps, says Marcellinus, "Theban Hercules "formed"—where?—at the Graian, at the Lepon-tian, or at the Euganean Alps?—at none of them, but "near the *Maritime* Alps; when he marched "slowly to the attack of Geryon" in *Spain*, "as is "said, and *towards* the capital of the Taurisci" in—*Dalmatia*; "and gave *these Alps* their name: he *fini-* "larly consecrated the fortrefs and port of *Monaco*, "as an eternal memorial of himself," by fixing upon it the name of *Hercules Monæcus*°. Such a running reduplication of the name of Hercules, does this babbling echo of etymology make; beating the sound backwards and forwards along the sides of the Alps, and throwing it by reverberations from one end of the mountains to another! The whole indeed is a mere babble, sounds without sense, and lo-

° Marcellinus xv. 10. p. 109. "Primam [viam] Thebæus "Hercules ad Geryonem exstinguendum, ut relatum est, et Tau-riscum, leniùs gradiens, prope Maritimas composuit Alpes; "hicque harum indidit nomen: Monæci similiter arcem et por-tum ad perennem sui memoriam consecravit." What explains this, is a *Maritime Iter* in Bertius 33, running from Genoa towards Nice; "Ab Albintimilio *Herculem Monæci portûs*, m. p. xvi. Ab "*Hercule Monæci portûs Avisionem*, m. p. xvi."

quacity without significance. Even was the system as judicious as it is silly, as manly as it is infantine; the very contradictoriness of parts to parts would destroy it all.

At the period of Bellovesus's irruption into Italy then, and about six hundred years before the Christian æra, the Alps appear to have been totally un-inhabited. But a road over them being explored by Bellovesus, colonization would soon take place upon them. Another irruption of Gauls into Italy by this grand trunk of communication, happened very soon afterwards, and in the very life of Bellovesus himself. A third, a fourth, and a fifth succeeded. The inhabitants of the valley at the mouth of this trunk, as they saw Bellovesus, Elitovius, and others, conduct armies of their countrymen up it, and heard of their safe marches along it to the rich plains of Italy beyond; would of course be stretching their possessions up the hills more and more, towards Great St. Bernard and the Po, in the very line by which the others had moved towards Italy. They would thus be in the way of all future emigrants and of all future travellers, passing from the one country to the other; and thus would the road over the Alps, from Martigny to Great St. Bernard and the Po, along the beneficial current of the Drance, be the first part of these mountains that was inhabited, and so form a girdle of population around the body of them.

This reasoning, though resting upon ground sufficiently historical and firm, and needing little the aid of collateral evidence, has it however in the very denomination of these Alpine inhabitants,

I have already shewn the Gauls of Vienne, Lyons, and of all the Rhone to Geneva, to have been included in the general appellation of ALLOBROGES. But Polybius shews the name to have extended equally, over the Nantuates, the Veragri, and the Scuduni. Hannibal, he says, having marched ten days along the Rhone, “ began the ascent of the Alps, and “ happened to fall into the greatest dangers: for, “ while they were in the plains, all the leaders of the “ ALLOBRIGES on their sides kept off, partly fearing “ the cavalry, and partly the Gauls who escorted “ them; but when these returned home, and Hannibal’s men began to advance into the defiles, then “ the leaders of the ALLOBRIGES, having collected a “ large body of men, seized the convenient posts, by “ which Hannibal’s men must necessarily pass in “ their ascent.” But Hannibal, as Polybius tells us afterward, having taken possession of the hill within the pass, and having thence come down to attack

* Polybius iii. 50. Ἠρξάτο τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεὶς ἀναβολῆς, καὶ συνέειν μεγάλους αὐτοὶ περιπεσεῖν κινδύνους. Ἔως μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπιδόσις ἦσαν, ἀπειχόντο πάντες αὐτῶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἀλλοβρυγῶν· τὰ μὲν τῆς ἑπείης δεινίης, τὰ δὲ τῆς παραπεμπονίας Βαρβαρῆς. Ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἐκείνοι μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπελλαγήσαν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀνίβαν ἡρξάντο προαγεῖν εἰς

attack the mountaineers, "killed the greatest part of
 "the ALLOBRIGES, and forced the rest to turn and
 "fly to their homes." We thus see the Gauls of
 France to have spread along the Rhone, under the
 name of the Allobroges, from the mouth nearly to
 the fountain of that river, a long and curving *cordón*
 of nations under the same appellation; to have enter-
 ed the Alps near the fountain, to have mounted up
 the hills of it, and to have extended their possessions
 and their name, as far at least as the territories of the
 Seduni extended, even up to Orzieres.

But we may add one link more, to this chain of

τας δυσχερειας, τῇ συναντηθεισῇσι οἱ τῶν Αλλοβριγῶν κηρυμαὶς ἔκταν το
 πλῆθος, προκαταλαβὼν τὰς εὐκαιρίας τοῦτο, δι' ὃν εὐδὲν τὰς περὶ τὸν Αἰνῶν
 καὶ ἀναγκῆν ποιεῖσθαι τῇ αἰαδολῇ. When the Carthaginians "were
 "just now preparing to ascend the Alps, they found themselves in a
 "situation that seemed likely to prove fatal to them. The chiefs of the
 "Allobriges [on their sides] had suffered them to pass the plains,
 "without any interruption or disturbance," how very wordy! "being
 "restrained in part by their apprehensions of the Carthaginian ca-
 "valry, and partly by the dread of those barbarians that followed in
 "the rear. But when the latter had returned back again to their
 "country, and Annibal with the foremost of his troops was now
 "beginning," though the very same word in the original before is
 rendered *were just now preparing*, "to enter the difficult passes of
 "the mountains, they drew together their forces in great num-
 "bers, and possessed themselves of all the posts, that commanded
 "the defiles through which the Carthaginians were obliged to
 "pass" (1. 355).

2 Polybius iii. 51. Τῆς μὲν πλείους τῶν Αλλοβριγῶν ἀπέκταν, τὰς
 δὲ λοιπὰς τρεῖς μέρητας πρῆναι φεγγεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. "The greater
 "part of the Allobroges were slain, and the rest forced to fly"
 " (1. 357).

reasoning

reasoning. That part of the country to the south of the Rhone, which runs from Geneva to the springs of it, is a long and narrow valley, as I have noted before; which is called *Vallais* in itself, and gives the name of *Valois*, *Vallaisans*, or *Valleffins* to its inhabitants^h. It was called *Vallis*, and *they* were called *Vallenses*, formerly. A writer of Switzerland says in the sixth century, that the Lombards entered *the Valley*; in his provinciated Latinity, “Longobardi “in *Valle* ingressi suntⁱ.” But we find the *Vallenses* themselves, on the *mountains* of the Alps. We find them, not merely as far as Polybius carries his Allobriges, and up the sides of the Sedunian mountains; but within the boundaries of the Salassi also, and on the very summit of Great St. Bernard. *There* was erected a military column of the Romans, that has these with other words engraven upon it:

F. C. V A L^k.

The two first letters I shall soon shew, to mean the stage that is called “Summum Peninum” by the Itinerary and the Tables. But the addition of VALLENSIUM to them, a national designation subjoined to the appellation of a stage, is of considerable moment for elucidating this portion of our history. It shews the stage and the mountain to

^h Breval's First Travels ii. 24, Addison 461, Simler 13—14, and Saussure iv. 229.

ⁱ Breval's First Travels, ii. 24.

^k Saussure iv. 229.

have been then, in the possession of the *Vallenses*. It thus marks the progressive ascent of the Gauls, from the valley of the Rhone below to the peak of the Pennine Alps above; re-echoes what the name of Allobroges had sounded to us before; and with it loudly proclaims the first inhabitants of these Alps, to have come into them from the Vallais, to have entered them by the mouth of the Drance at Martigny, and to have ascended them in the line of the Drance to Great St. Bernard.

Let me however add a third link to the chain, and then show how far the whole extends. Cæsar informs us in exact correspondency with all this, that the Seduni "lived upon the Alps," and "reached up to the very summits of them¹." We found them indeed, when Hannibal invaded their Alps by the pass of Martigny, stretching up the mountains only as far as Orzieres, nine miles from the pass, and sixteen short off Great St. Bernard. But, before the days of Cæsar, they had extended their possessions all the way to Great St. Bernard, and had so far encroached upon what were the territories of the Salassi before. We have also beheld the *Salluvii* in Livy, coming the third army of Gauls across the Alps of Great St. Bernard, and settling about the river Ti-

¹ De Bell Gall. iii. 7. p. 90. "Victis in Alpibus Sedunis," and i. p. 85. "Nantuates, Veragros, Sedunisque—, qui a finibus Allobrogum, et lacu Lemano, et flumine Rhodano ad Summas Alpes pertinent."

cino in Italy^m. These are denominated the *Sallyi* by Plinyⁿ; and appear from Marcellinus to be the very same with the *Salyes* about Marseilles, consequently to have marched *all along the foot of the Western Alps, to the only entrance on the north*^o. But they were equally the same assuredly with those very *Salassi*, by whom Hannibal and we have been so busily engaged in ascending the Alps, and who are denominated *Salassi* in Augustus's inscription at Monaco^p. The similarity of appellation evinces the sameness of origin, reflected as that similarity appears in the variations of the name before, and confirmed as this sameness is found under all the variations. Thus the tide of colonization, that set so strongly from the Rhone to the Po, had receded from the Po again, and settled back upon the Alps; even receded and settled so early, as to meet the tide of Alpine population pushing up from the north, only a little way up the ascent, even at Orzieres only; before the days of Hannibal. The *Salassi* however, we must remember, in thus settling back upon the Alps, did not find them un-occupied and solitary mountains. No! The Taurini, whose capital was Turin, had previously spread up the southern Alps, just as

^m Livy v. 35. "Salluvii, prope antiquam gentem Lævos Ligures, incolentes circa Ticinum amnem."

ⁿ Pliny iii. 17. "Vercellæ Libycorum, ex Sallyis ortæ."

^o Marcellinus xv. xi, p. 104. "His [Marseilles, &c.] prope Salluvii sunt."

^p Pliny iii. 20,

the Seduni had done up the northern; but had spread much farther up those, than the Seduni had done up these; and were actually possessed of Great St. Bernard, before the very migration of the Salluvii across the Alps, even before the very migration of Bellovesus himself. The army of Bellovesus, says Livy, "*mounted over the Alps through the country of the Taurini, and through forests unpassed before.*" And for that very reason Antiochus of Syracuse, as Cato reports him, calls the Pennine mountain expressly the "Taurinian". So thoroughly peopled from the summit to the base, was the southern and sunny side of the Alps, though it was still covered in many parts with thick and untracked forests; at the very time, that the northern was one dreary and dismal wilderness of wood! These Taurini the Salassi must have now reduced, then swept down the northern Alps, and reduced the Seduni. For these conquests are the Salassi dignified by Dio with a double name, one their own appellation, the other the general appellation of their conquered nations; and denominated the *Salassi Galatæ*. But, though the Taurini revolted not, yet the Seduni appear from Cæsar to have done so, to have risen against their conquerors, to have thrown off their yoke en-

⁹ Livy v. 35. "Ipsi per Taurinos saltusque invios Alpes transcenderunt."

¹ Cato. "A quo [Api] Apennina, quam Taurinam idem [Antiochus Syracusanus] interpretatur." Macrob. Saturn. i. 21.

² Dio lxxix. 34. Σαλασσοῦ Γαλατίας. So *Lævi Ligures* and *Libui Galli*.

tirely, to have broken into their dominions, and to have actually possessed themselves of the summit of the Alps.

This history of the first population of the mountains, amazingly coincides with the accounts before; of the first routes taken by armies over them; to lend additional confirmation, if it was at all wanted; of the rightness of the course which we have assigned to the army of Hannibal. But the confirmation is not wanted. Only it appears astonishing to my mind; to see so many rays accidentally issuing from different points, casually converging to one common center, and so throwing a blaze of lustre over a road, which has been so long concealed under the clouds of Livy. Strabo accordingly tells us, that the Alps were "inhabited by many nations of *Gauls*" in his time, and that "the *Allobroges*" particularly "cultivated the plains and the vallies in the Alps." Even that very vale in which Martigny stands, appears to have been denominated *the Panine Vale* by the Romans. The incident indeed is signified only by an inscription, which is to the "Pro-legatus of the province Raitia [Rhoetia] and Vindelicia and *the Panine Vale*." But this inscription is very clear; as no vale, except the great one of a hundred miles in length, could possibly be enumerated in

¹ Strabo ii. 190. Εὐρη δὲ καλεῖται πολλὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ τοῦ Καλνικα, and iv. 283. Ἀλλοβρόγες νυ—γινώργουσι τὰ πεδία καὶ τὴν αὐλῶντας τὴν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλπίσι.

² Simler 107.

company with the two states of Vindelicia and Rhœtia, and be subjected with them expressly to the authority of a "Pro-legatus." Yet learning, which *loves to puzzle itself*, has pretended to doubt at times, whether some little and inconsiderable vale may not be meant by the name*. Learning, like its ancient type the owl, is frequently confounded and oppressed by too much light; shrinks therefore into holes and corners, to court its beloved shade. The northern mountaineers were denominated Vallenfes, as coming originally from the Valley; and, by a reciprocation of relationship, the Valley itself was denominated the Pennine. But, as a signal corroboration of all, the territories of the Vallaisans *stretch up at this very day to the top of Great St. Bernard*; and the boundary between them and the Savoyards, those modern Taurini and modern Salassi, *runs along the top at present* x.

— II. —

FROM this narrow stream of population, which had mounted aloft, like the liquid in the thermometer, against the natural principles of gravitation, under the attraction of bright skies and warm suns; we have seen villages and towns upon the Alps, in the line of Hannibal's great road up them. Six

* Simler 108.

x Saussure iv. 225.

miles within the entrance, we found the capital of the Seduni, surrounded by its subject villages. Even when we entered the dominions of the Salassi, at the distance of nine miles up the mountains; we noticed several of their villages or towns. Both these incidents show the road up to Great St. Bernard, to have been properly *studded* with towns, great or small, for the whole length of its course. Such indeed were necessary for the accommodation of the travellers, and for the reception of the horses, that must have been passing along it. When the natives of Gaule had settled themselves in Italy, the opposing barrier of hills between these two divisions of countrymen, would frequently be traversed in the necessary intercourse betwixt them. The enterprising genius of commerce too, that infant Hercules, yet in its cradle, but still proving itself a Hercules by the energy of its infantine exertions, would boldly seize and firmly grasp the advantages, that might be derived from this new-found avenue into *the world* of Italy. The avenue would thus become a road, practised and improved from time to time. Travellers create villages, where there are none; and enlarge them into towns where they are: especially in that early period of journeying, when neither business nor pleasure had yet provided its relays of horses at post-houses, and therefore could not yet play its grand freaks, or grand strokes, of expeditiousness in posting; when the horse and the man were obliged to make short stages, were compelled to rest for some time at each, and demanded

demanded a variety of accommodations for the slow restoration of their strength. We accordingly observe in the very early days of Cæsar, that the road was *then* frequented by a number of travelling merchants, and by gangs of horses accompanying them; that it was *then* the one only channel, by which the north-west of Italy received the commodities of France, the Vallais, or Switzerland; and that it was therefore become of so much consequence to Italy, as induced Cæsar to engage in a romantic sort of enterprise, for the sake of it. He sent a large detachment of his army out of France, to Geneva, to St. Maurice, to Martigny, and the Alps; thus to enter the unsubdued Vallais, and to mount the un-reduced Alps, in order to free the merchants from the imposts which were now laid upon their wares, and from the dangers to which they were now exposed in their persons: and to stay at Martigny for the winter, in order effectually to overawe the Seduni on the hills of entrance, and to secure the safety of the road, with the immunity of the wares, passing through their country. This conduct in Cæsar blazons out to us in very lively colours, the commercial importance of this road at the time. It seems indeed to have been even thus early, as practised, as commercial, and as consequential, as it is at this very moment. It was then the only road, it is only one of many now. We have therefore reason sufficient to suppose, that it had equally, though not in an equal degree perhaps, a commercial con-

sequence in the time of Hannibal. We have actually one feature in the complexion of Hannibal's history, that *looks* as much. The Gallick ambassadors to him from the north of Italy, had come by this very road in peace; and re-entered this very road in peace, during the night of his encampment at the mouth of it. Only from the great frequency of travellers upon it even then, *could* they have passed the mountains before. Only from the same frequency, *could* they have returned now, have mixed with the mountaineers in the town adjoining, and have informed Hannibal of the retreat of the mountaineers to the town at night. As some of the customary travellers upon the road, they passed and re-passed those mountains un-molested, which afterwards showed, and at the very moment were showing, every sign of hostility to Hannibal himself. The army was denied an entrance, while the travellers were permitted to enter.

In this view of the Pennine way we may confidently presume, that there was a village or a town on that great bend of the whole, that vast key-stone in this atlantéan arch of nature's construction, at which the way ceases to ascend and begins to descend. There the over-laboured traveller would wish to repose, after all his straining efforts of ascent; to triumph awhile in the success of his efforts; and to contemplate the much easier, the downward, half of his road into Italy. There, for the same reason,

Hannibal

Hannibal rested awhile^a. But we need not dwell upon any presumption. We know from Livy, that this super-eminent peak of the Alps was actually inhabited in his time; as he mentions expressly "the inhabitants of this hill^b." He tells us also, that these "inhabitants" had "a statue of a god, which "they had consecrated to him on the highest point "of the mountains, and called Peninus^c." Nor was this statue set up upon a pillar in the open air, as the wild folly even of local writers has surmised^d; but, as the term "consecrated" hints, and as the existence of a temple speaks out, was placed in that temple of Pennine Jupiter, in which we have actually found it before. A temple then was erected on Great St. Bernard, so early as the days of Livy. Yet we can mount much higher with it; Terentius Varro, as we have seen before, presenting a pillar for a pedestal to the god in this very temple, on the Roman reduction of the country; and the elder Cato, as we have equally seen before, speaking of the worship paid there in his time to the Pennine deity. This leads us up very nearly to the time of Han-

^a Polybius iii. 53. *Ejus*; Livy xxi. 35. "In jugo stativa "habita."

^b Livy xxi. 38. "Incolæ jugi ejus."

^c Livy *ibid.* "Ab eo, quem, in summo sacratum vertice, "Peninum montani appellant."

^d Saussure iv. 229. "De Rivaz, auteur Valaisan, pretend que "vers l' an 339 Constantine le jeune fit abattre la statue de Jupi- "ter, qui étoit au haut du passage, et que l' on mit à sa place une "colonne milliaire dédiée à ce Prince. Cette colonne," &c.

nibal. Some indeed have been weak enough to surmise, from the local appellation of this Jupiter being vitiated into *Pæninus* and *Pænus* at times, that he was a Carthaginian Jove, and that Hannibal himself erected this temple to him^e. But I have already accounted for the vitiation, in a manner more historical. Hannibal indeed, unhappily for himself and for mankind, was not of that mild and amiable and religious class of men, who build temples. Nor, if he had been, could he have found leisure for the work at present. But the temple was built, long before his time. This appears from a slight notice preceding. We have seen the Taurini possessed of Great St. Bernard, even at the period of Belloc's march up the Alps from the north; and the very hill of St. Bernard denominated the Taurinian mountain, as well as the Pennine. But we may now see the very deity that was worshipped there, called equally Pennine and Taurinian. Cato reports the Apennine goddess, as he calls the god Peninus, to be interpreted by Antiochus of Syracuse, a writer therefore prior to himself, "the goddess Taurina^f." Long therefore before the time of Hannibal, was the temple of this deity constructed here; and the fane of the god was of course the church of the inhabitants. So plainly and so early have we found a town

^e Sauffure iv. 227—228.

^f Cato. "A quo [Api] Apennina, quam Taurinam idem "[Antiochus Syracusanus] interpretatur," Macrob. Saturn. i. 2.

upon Great St. Bernard; the Taurini, who came up from Italy, in an exalted attention to their own devotions, and in the dignity of sentiment that religion naturally inspires, conceiving the bold thought of building houses upon this airy elevation, of raising a church on it to the god of their Alps, and so crowning this *globe of mountains* with a temple and a town; in the sight of Italy, in the neighbourhood of the sky, more than eight thousand of our feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and on the loftiest site of any town, of any house, in all Europe, or even in all the old world 3.

When the Romans reduced the Salassi, they continued the town which they found here; and Varro the reducer presented an offering of gratitude to Jupiter, in the temple of it. The town accordingly appears in the Itinerary under the title of "Summum Peninum," and in the Tables under that of "In Summo Pennino." It was then to the Romans what it had been to the Salassi, the grand *landing-place* for their travellers and their soldiers, in their passage up this steep staircase of mountains. But though the town is marked only by this notation, in the Tables and in the Itinerary; yet it appears from inscriptions to have had another. I have recited a

3 Saussure iv. 241, Bourrit iii. 269, and Gentleman's Guide

part of one inscription before, and now give the whole.

IMP. CAESARI CONSTANTINO
P.F. INVICTO AUG. DIVI CONSTANTINI
AUG. FILIO BONO REIPUBLICE NATO
F. C. VAL. XXIII^b.

From this the stone appears to be, as I have stated it before, a military column; set up in the reign of the younger Constantine, and therefore bearing an inscription to his honour. It was then placed at the "Summum Peninum" of the Itinerary, and therefore at its distance of *twenty-four* miles from Aosta. There it actually stood in the days of De Rivaz, an author of the Vallais; when he asserted "*Constantine the younger* to have taken down the statue of Jupiter, which was at the *elevation of the pass*, and to *have fixed in its place a military column dedicated to himself*." A writer, who is happily a religious man, or, which is often the same thing to an author, who writes in a religious age; and, in himself or his contemporaries, has justly entertained a very high idea of that glorious revolution, which Christianity made in the œconomy of our western world; if his ideas are not directed, and if his religiousness is not tempered, by historical knowledge, is apt to attribute every monument that occurs, to the victory of Chris-

^b Sauffure iv. 229.

ⁱ Sauffure iv. 229. "Au haut du passage—l' on mit—une colonne milliaire dédiée à ce Prince."

tianity over Heathenism. A common milestone is thus made to displace a statue of Jupiter; when the statue was actually placed in the temple on the plain, and the stone must have been set up at the town on the north-east. Erected in the town, the stone *therefore* stood "In Summo Pennino," or "at the elevation of the pass." De Rivaz *saw* the milestone actually there, and only *supposed* the statue to have been there before. But it has been since removed by that curiosity of antiquarianism, which has now been awake for a couple of centuries, and, in its avidity for securing monuments to gratify its appetites, has removed stones in our own country to a distance from their original site; down to St. Peter's, about nine miles below on the north^k. On that original site it was erected *by* the town, and therefore carries a few words *concerning* the town. The last line gives us the primary syllable of the national appellation, and the two initial letters of the town's name prefixed. In words at length the line would run thus, FORUM CLAUDII VALLENSIUM; and the reading is fully ascertained by another inscription, found in this form upon a rude stone at Martigny:

IMP. CÆSARI VAL.
 CONSTANTIO PIO
 FEL. INVICTO AUG.
 FILIO. FOR. CL. VAL. BONO
 REIPUBLICAE NATO.

The double name of the town, which is *there* given

^k Saussure iv. 229.

^l Simler 36.

only in F. C. is opened *here* into FOR. CL. and so explains itself into *Forum Claudii*. When the Romans reduced the Salassi, and became the sovereigns of the Alps; with their usual spirit, no doubt, they heightened the conveniences of accommodation upon the roads. We accordingly see the Salassi employed by them, in new forming the roads and in bridging over the rivers of the country, immediately after the conquest of it^m. They enlarged also the *Caer Penine* or *Pennodune* of the Salassi, by *establishing a market at it*; and then, with that love of propagating their own glory by imposing their own names upon places, which appears so conspicuous in all their conquests, denominated the new market-town from the personal name of the establisher, *Forum Claudii*.

Yet why is the town additionally characterised, as belonging to the Vallenfes? When all belonged, why is any specified? For two good reasons. There was another town of the same appellation, in the neighbouring north of Italy; noticed by Pliny under the title of "*Forum Clodii*," by the Itinerary and Tables under that of "*Forum Clodi*," but by Ptolemy under this of "*Forum Claudii*." There was even another among the Alps themselves; Ptolemy fixing a "*Forum Claudii*" on the Graian Alps, and giving it to the Centrones°. An inscription also has been

^m Strabo iv. 315. Ως οδοποιους, η γιφυραυτης πολυμης.

ⁿ Pliny iii. 15, Bertius 18, First Segment of the Tables, and Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 72.

° Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 71.

found at Aïsme near Centron, that, something like our own at Martigny, exhibits **FOROCL. CENTRON**; but, like that, has no relation to the place at which it was found, Axima being mentioned expressly by Ptolemy as totally distinct from Forum Claudii; and therefore refers only to Centronⁿ. But the existence of three towns under the same appellation, and two of them such near neighbours, obliged as many of them at least to be noticed with a difference from the third; one as the “Forum Claudii” of the Centrones, the other as the “Forum Claudii” of the Vallenses. Yet there was another reason for this addition of character; that each of these two is the *capital* of its own nation. This is very clear with regard to the Centrones, and is also clear, though not equally so, with respect to the Vallenses too. The capitals of nations, as I have noted formerly, in the fourth or fifth century began to take the national appellatives for their own; and the custom could have arisen only from the previous custom, of annexing the names of their nations to their own. Thus “Lutetia Parisiorum” was naturally abbreviated at last into Paris, and “Forum Claudii Centronum” into Centron. Thus also the “Forum Claudii Vallensium” once took, though it has since lost, the national designation for its own. This appears from an inscription which has been accidentally preserved at Geneva, which I consider as an *unique* in favour of a

lawyer among the Romans, and which in its provincial Latinity tells us; that he was "a young man," yet "a learned pleader," and "a freeman of the two towns of VALLENSIS and of Nyon⁹." The "Forum Claudii Vallensium" accordingly shows its metropolitical dignity, as well as "Forum Claudii Centronum;" in extending its authority from Great St. Bernard to Martigny, as that has from Centron to Aïsne; and in recording the extension, by inscribing a stone with its own name there. On St. Bernard then was the capital of those Seduni, who had come up from the Vallais, seized the vacant highlands up to Orzieres, and then encroached upon the Salassi as far as this crest of the Alps; and on St. Bernard still remained the capital under the Romans, preserving its sovereignty over these Alps, and stretching out its authority all down the hills to the Vallais. The Seduni in all probability encroached upon the Salassi, *just before* Cæsar's expedition to Martigny; and then, flushed with insolence on their own success, imposed heavy taxes upon travellers. And the line between the Salassi and Seduni being on the top of St. Bernard, as that between the Savoyards and the Vallaisans now is; the Seduni are properly said by Cæsar, while the Salassi are as properly reported by Strabo, with a contradictoriness

⁹ Breval's First Travels ii. 23. "Juveni, erudito confidico, bis civi Vallense et Equestre." See it also in Simler 14, but less correctly given thus in the main point, "Bis civi Valinsæ et Equestri."

that

that is thus reconciled with ease, equally to possess the summit of the Alps^r.

III. THE

^r Strabo iv. 314.

D'Anville *say* says thus: " Dans la Notice des provinces de la Gaule, *civitas Vallenſium Oſtoduro* est la ſeconde des deux cités, dont il est mention dans la province des Alpes Grèques et Pennines, la première étant *Darantaſia*." This, if true, would only make Martigny to be what I have already noted it to have once been (I. iii. 1. at beginning), the capital of the Vallais. But it is all a gross mistake, and seems to be founded entirely upon a substitution by the eye or memory, of Pancirollus's commentary upon the Notitia for the Notitia itself. There in p. 157 we read, that " post has sunt Alpes Penninæ et Graiæ—; Itinerarium duas civitates ponit, *Metropolim Centronium*, id est, *Tarantaſiam*, et *Vallenſium*, id est, *Oſtodorum*." There too the reference is expressly to the Itinerary, and to the two towns in p. 22 of it. But the pre-eminent authority of these towns, is all Pancirollus's own, and all spurious; the Itinerary simply naming only Darantaſia and Oſtodorum; and Centron, St. Bernard, being the real capitals. Yet the mistake so far appears in a previous page, 318, and probably in others, that Darantaſia is said to be named for the capital by the Notitia; " dans la Notice des provinces de la Gaule,—c'est *Darantaſia*, qui est nommée en cette qualité de capitale."—I thus take my leave of this great geographer. He is truly great. But such is the difficulty of having high expectations gratified, that I expected more pleasure and profit from him than I have enjoyed. The exaggerated reputation of his geography, is actually hurting its real character. The extravagant panegyrick, which Mr. Gibbon particularly has bestowed upon it, made me expect a double accuracy in his own country. There the nature of my work peculiarly compelled me to consult him; and there, like my own Hannibal, I determined peculiarly to try his strength. But I was disappointed in the trial. I have caught, indeed, many a beam of light from his torch; but I had reason and right to expect, that the light would have been more steady, more sure, and more strong. I have been obliged to desert it frequently, to light my own taper, and to explore my own way by it. I have even looked occasionally into his

— III. —

THE moment you *step* upon the summit of Great St. Bernard, you see the road running smooth before you in a long and narrow valley, that is formed by rocky eminences on either side. But close to you, and on the north-eastern extremity of this valley, is that town-like groupe of buildings, which stands upon the site of the antient "Forum Claudii," and gives the denomination of St. Bernard to the whole mountain. It stands, as the antient town stood, "In "Summo Pennino," and, as the milliary column was placed, "at the elevation of the passage;" being on the loftiest point of the road across the top, and having two rivers run directly north and south from it. Immediately beyond this is a lake of water, about a mile and a half in circumference, and forming a singular contrast with the naked rocks around it. It is deep, and the depth throws a shade of blackness over its waters*. A lake of such a size upon so narrow a crest, is a singular phenomenon, I believe. This little appendage is certainly noticed by antient writers. So intimately has the mountain

his General Geography, in the only region with which I was sufficiently acquainted myself, to judge of his acquaintance with it; and, so far as I can judge by the contracted *speculum* of the Abridgment, his account of *Antient Britain* is very imperfect and very erroneous.

* Saussure iv. 225, 226, 256, and Bourrit iii. 272.

been

been known formerly to the nations of Europe, from this frequented pass over it. It is mentioned expressly by Ptolemy; when, in tracing the boundaries of the Italick Boii, he speaks of a river as rising “at the Pœnine Lake^b.” It is also noticed, even denominated, in the Tables of Peutinger; the “Lacus “Henus” being delineated there as a broad lake, and appearing to send out a river that runs down to Augusta Prætoria^c. But, what is very surprising, it is noticed equally by our own Nennius, some ages afterward; a writer, who amidst his general ignorance shows a minuteness of knowledge on this point, for which nothing but the continuance and the celebrity of this old road over the Alps, can possibly account. “The seventh Emperour,” he says concerning Maximian, “slew Gratian King of the Romans; and then gave his soldiery many regions, “from *the lake which is on the top of the mountain of “Jupiter, to”* &c^d. This lake must have been a boundary to some dominions, in the days of Maximian or Nennius, or of both; as on its banks *was* the liminary line between the Salassi and Seduni, and *is* between the Vallaisans and Savoyards. At this piece of water, the narrow valley becomes still narrower. There is only a strait path, between the eminence on the right and the lake on the left. By

^b Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 70. Κατὰ τὴν Ποινίαν λίμνην.

^c Second Segment.

^d Nennius c. xxiii. “A stagno, quod est super verticem “Montis Jovis, usque ad” &c.

this you enter Savoy, and then the plain of Jupiter commences^e. In and about this town, along the side of this lake, and all over this plain, did Hannibal now encamp with his forces^f. The town would afford a hospitable shelter for his sick, and warm stabling for his horses. The plain would be brightened up, with the tents of his soldiery; the dull lake would reflect their figure dimly; and the eminences on each side would echo, to the sounds of numerous voices, to the accents of the Carthaginian language, the hurry of military activity, and the clamours of a crowded camp.

But to the astonishment of my reader let me add, that COINS have been actually found upon this mountain, which were CARTHAGINIAN. The first, who communicated this extraordinary piece of intelligence to the world, was M. Bourrit, that lively describer of the Alps, that judicious collector of intelligence concerning them; who has just learning sufficient to direct, to qualify his vivacity, and just vivacity enough to quicken, to impregnate his learning; is thus formed and tempered by the happy union of both, into the most enterprising, the most knowing, and the most picturesque, of all writing travellers. "Antiently and in the time of the Romans," says this author, "the Grand St. Bernard was a pass much

^e Sauffure iv. 225.

^f Polybius iii. 53. *Autis xaltes palonnedevet*; Livy xxi. 35. "In jugo stativa habita."

"frequented:

“frequented: several have believed, that it was by
 “this pass Hannibal opened himself a way into
 “Italy. THE CARTHAGINIAN MEDALS, WHICH
 “HAVE BEEN FOUND THERE, HAVE SERVED TO
 “SPREAD THAT OPINION. That which has more
 “certainty in it” than the passage of Hannibal over
 this hill, “is, that it had—a temple dedicated to the
 “god Penninus^s.” This testimony is very strong,
 and carries great weight with it. But it becomes
 stronger and more weighty, from the state of M.
 Bourrit’s own convictions at the time, concerning
 Hannibal. He was persuaded with numbers, and as
 firmly persuaded as a man could be who had never
 examined the point, that Hannibal penetrated into
 Italy by a very different route, the route of the Cot-
 tian Alps. “It is not twenty years,” he says in one
 place, “since the world has talked about and travel-
 “led upon the Alps; *Hannibal never traversed them*,
 “it is believed, *except in the part adjoining to Dau-*
 “*phiny*, which is the lowest of this grand chain^h.”

^s Bourrit iii. 271. “Anciennement et du temps des Ro-
 “mains, le Grand Saint-Bernard étoit un passage très-frequenté.
 “Plusieurs ont cru, que c’étoit par-là qu’ Annibal s’étoit
 “ouvert l’entrée del’ Italie. Des medailles Carthaginoises, que
 “l’on y a trouvées, ont servi à repandre cette opinion. Ce qu’il
 “y a de plus certain, c’est qu’il y avoit—un temple dediée au
 “Dieu Pennin.”

^h Bourrit iii. 2. “Il n’y a pas vingt années, qu’on parle des
 “Alpes et qu’on y voyage; Annibal ne traversa, à ce qu’on
 “croit, que la partie voisine du Dauphiné, qui est la plus basse de
 “cette grande chaîne.”

Thus

Thus believing, however erroneously, he could not suffer himself to be deluded by that ready enthusiasm of faith, which catches eagerly at any phantoms of argument, seeming to carry the features of its own preconceptions. He could not even be warped by that soberer sort of belief, which necessarily inclines more to any reasons that assimilate with its own persuasions, than to those of a contrary nature. His mind indeed must have revolted at the moment, and his prejudices have been alarmed at the intelligence. He who believed Hannibal to have gone over the Cottian Alps, and believed it so steadily as to declare his belief in this very work, must have been unwilling to receive any intelligence, that either overset this persuasion entirely or only opposed it directly. He accordingly shows his unwillingness, at the very instant he records the information. He shows this in a slight manner indeed, in a manner not very unphilosophical, not very disingenuous; but he still shows it. He does so in saying, "that which has *more of certainty* in it is" &c.; thus admitting the fact, allowing the argument, but shrinking hastily back from the necessary conclusion, *because* it was contrary to his preconceptions; and pretending to doubt a little its force, *because* he felt the point of it in his mind. All renders his testimony concerning the Carthaginian medals, of greater validity in itself. We have in his indeed the highest of all testimonies, the evidence of an enemy, the evidence of a declared enemy;

enemy; for the discovery of these medals upon Great St. Bernard.

To such an attestation, nothing need be added in power and efficacy. Yet let me add, what is not necessary, yet must be useful. A momentous point should never in policy be rested, upon a single witness, however competent. And, though an Atlas may be able to bear up the globe himself, a Hercules may conveniently relieve him at times.—The Right Reverend the EARL of BRISTOL has repeatedly assured me by word and by letter, that these Carthaginian medals were actually *shewn to him*, upon the top of Great St. Bernard, by one of the clergymen there; whom I supposed and he believed to be M. Murith, the same clergyman who probably reported them to M. Bourrit, as he was occasionally M. Bourrit's fellow-traveller on the Alps¹. His Lordship very obligingly promised on his going abroad in 1792, to procure me farther intelligence concerning them, and (if possible) to get me the papers of the clergyman then supposed to be deceased; but failed in his design, from the perturbed state of the continent in the autumn of 1792 and in the summer of 1793. The French frenzy of equality, which in its very terms was calculated only for the mob of mankind, which was sure (if it succeeded) to rouse all the venom of malignity in the mean against the great,

¹ Bourrit i. 42, &c.

and has shewn itself in its actual energies among the French, to be only an insurrection of the poor against the purses of the rich, a combination of cut-throats against the lives of the honest, and a fabrication of hell for the desolation of earth; had then made France the very

Puriis agitatus Orestes

of the continent, fixed half the world in a deep attention to that Bedlamite, and engaged all the neighbouring nations in a necessary combination of efforts, to repel the violence of his assaults, to disarm the madman of his weapons, and to bind the demoniack in chains; so rendered all enquiries concerning Hannibal among the Vallaisans a mere impertinence, all travels of curiosity over the Alps a work of danger. This however is the slightest of consequences, from such a frenzy; for,

Had it power, it would
Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,
Uproar the universal peace, confound
All unity on earth.

But, with this "Ate hot from hell" ranging over France, we have the grand point, the discovery of Carthaginian medals upon Great St. Bernard, ascertained beyond all reach of exception; and this astonishing addition to all the other evidences of Hannibal's route over that mountain, authenticated beyond all possibility of doubt.

Yet let me produce a third evidence, not indeed as a new witness to the general fact, but as the no-

ticer of a new circumstance in it. The fact itself wants no additional witness, but the circumstance is as striking as it is novel. An author, who has travelled with much attention himself, and has published his own observations with those of others to much advantage; informs us concerning our St. Bernard, that on it are "the remains of a Roman Temple, " WHERE inscriptions, MEDALS, and some bronze " statues, have been found^k." He knew the quality of the medals, as well as the nature of the statues and inscriptions; but did not specify that of any, lest he should be drawn away by the specification, to a length incompatible with his plan. Like our own Hannibal, he only passes over St. Bernard *in his way to Italy*; and does but just make a halt upon it, like him, in his eagerness to reach his point of destination. But he usefully informs us, that the medals were found where we know the inscriptions and the statues to have been discovered, in the ruins of Jupiter's Temple there. This circumstance is entirely his own. Of the inscriptions and the statues, he might know from Guichenon and Saussure; of the very medals he might learn from Bourrit; but the discovery of the medals *in the same ruins with them*, he could collect only from his own notices.

^k Gentleman's Guide 25, and what is the same work enlarged and *owned*, A Tour through Italy, &c, by Thomas Martyn, R. D. F.R.S. Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge. A new edition, 1792, p. 21.

Thus found however, they form an important part of the temple's relics: and come in more usefully than the statues and inscriptions themselves, to illustrate the course of Hannibal over the Alps. In that spirit of pious gratitude, which had engraven all the inscriptions and carved one at least of the statues, but which must be peculiarly pleasing in *this* effusion to every reader of religious sensibility; Hannibal, who had too strong an understanding and too lively a spirit, not to perceive his absolute dependance upon HIM who created and controuls the world, not to feel a reverential awe for this invisible Being, and not to consider him as the all-powerful arbiter of his fortunes; who accordingly had gone to the temple of the Carthaginian Hercules at Cadiz, just before he begun his expedition, to implore a blessing from him, and to vow gratitude to him¹; and had even so much of the habit of devoutness about him, that on finding his assembled soldiery on the Rhone, express their fullest confidence in him, "he dismissed them "with praises," says Polybius, "and with prayers to "the gods for them all"^m;" even he, in the same exalted strain of thinking and the same dignified tenour of acting, appears to have entered the temple on

¹ Livy xxi. 31.

^m Polybius iii. 44. *Επαινεσας αυτους, και τοις θεοις υπερ αναρωσ ενχαριςτος.* "Annibal praised their zeal; and having recom-
mended them all to the favour and protection of the gods," &c.
(i. 346). How languidly diffusive is the English, where the Greek is brief, brisk, and compact!

Great St. Bernard, to have there preferred his thanks to the Jupiter of the Alps, for his victorious ascension to their summit, and to have there presented as a significant expression of his grateful acknowledgments, some pieces of CARTHAGINIAN COIN. These were placed, like the Carbuncle of Little St. Bernard, at the feet of the god, I suppose, and on the top of his pedestal. These continued with the god, it appears, like the Carbuncle and the inscriptions, through all the political revolutions of the Heathen world; even in that grand renovation of the earth, which was made by the regenerating power of Christianity, still remained under the general aversion, with a sanctity upon them that saved them from all violation; and so sunk away, in the ruins of the whole building at last. Then the sanctity was lost in the dissolution. Then inquisitiveness succeeded to aversion, curiosity went to ransack the remains for the illumination of history, and the inscriptions, the statues, the medals, were all brought to light againⁿ,

IV. ON

ⁿ In *Ant. Un. Hist.* xvii. 301. Mr. Swinton observes, that "the character—upon the Punic coins is various, many of those found in Spain, as well as Sicily, having letters entirely rude and barbarous, while the better sort exhibit a character, resembling the Phœnician, and even the Assyrian or Hebrew letters." P. 308 he adds: "We cannot recollect, that any person has hitherto tried to explain the legends in any of the Punic coins, notwithstanding the letters on many of them seem to be nearly related, partly to the Hebrew, partly to the Syrian, and partly to the Phœnician." Then two Siculo-Punic medals have their legends explained; one of these is only

— IV. —

ON these Alps of Great St. Bernard, and by this temple of the Pennine Jove, Hannibal rested for two whole days^a. He thus gave time for his wearied soldiery and wearied cattle, to recover from their great fatigue. He also afforded leisure for some that he had left behind, to overtake him here^b; if there was any *possibility* of their doing so, because of the

Hitte for Hittites, the Carthaginians so called in a singular coincidence with scripture and with Procopius; the other is *Annib.* for Annibal (309—312), he being one of the *Suffetes*, or a king, of Carthage (574—575). “Hic—prætor factus est, postquam Rex fuerat anno secundo et vigesimo: ut enim Romæ Consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui hini Reges, creabantur” (Cornelius Nepos xxiii. 212. Amstel. 1704). Hannibal therefore was chosen *one of the Reges* every year, for two and twenty years together, *because* he was all the while at the head of the army; and, on being deprived of that command at the requisition of the Romans, he became of course deprived of the *Royalty*, and was made Prætor, a civil officer. “Hannibalem domum revocarunt; hic, ut rediit, Prætor factus est.” Hence also in *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, p. 41 (Bertius), we can now read without a smile, that “Ibi positus est Rex *Annibalianus*” &c.

^a Polybius iii. 53. Δυσὶν ἡμέραις ἔμεινε; Livy xxi. 35. “Biduo.”

^b Livy xxi. 35. “Fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus;” Polybius iii. 53. Ἀλλὰ μὲν ἀναπαύσαι τὰς διασωζομένους, ἀλλὰ δὲ προσδεῖσθαι τὰς υπολειπόμενους. “That he might give some ease and refreshment to the troops, that had per-
formed their march with safety; and that the others might also join him, who were not yet arrived” (i. 361).

perfidious

perfidious hostility of the Salassi. These were horses, which had been thrown with their burdens upon their backs, or beaten with their cars behind them, down the precipices of the road at the entrance. They had not been killed by the fall; but had been too much bruised, to proceed immediately with the army. Hannibal had therefore left them at the capital of the Seduni, under the care of their respective drivers. There the terrour, that he had lately impressed upon the hearts of the Seduni, by his defeat of them at the entrance; was their protection. They were not molested by the Seduni, though the army was gone. So much longer is the reach of fear, than the arm of power! They therefore recovered themselves sufficiently in three or four days, to set out after the army. Then, what was more surprising, the grand defeat of the Salassian perfidy at the hill of ambuscade, kept such a dread upon the spirits of this base and cowardly nation of politicians; that they, who had dared to think of entrapping Hannibal and all his army to their ruin, would not venture to seize a few of his stragglers. So much lower is the *ebb* of cunning, than its *flood* is high! These kept

^c Livy xxi. 35. "*Jumenta—, quæ prolata, in rupibus erant;*" and Polybius iii. 53. *ἰππες τῶν ἀπικλονμένων,—πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπερριφέντων τὰ φορτία.* See the account before "Many of the wounded horses," which were not wounded but *frightened*, "and of the beasts that had thrown their burdens," of the horses in the cars, the preceding horses being beasts of burden, "in the late disorders of the march," an interpolation which *should* have said, at the grand entrance into the Alps (i. 361).

steadily, no doubt, to the regular road; were even shewn this by the Salassi, as they had not the Gallick guides with them; and were shewn it, not as some of the travelling merchants that were frequently passing along the road, but as what they were, as what the Seduni must have reported them, as some of the very followers of Hannibal's army. The fear of the world is always ready to pay that homage to experienced success, which it will refuse to great abilities or to great power. So much more efficacious a principle within us is fear, than reason! Thus did they proceed in peace, though they formed a pretty large body^d, and avowedly followed the army. But the eagle of Carthage hovered over them as the genius of Hannibal, and carried the bolts of Jupiter in its talons. They thus travelled from Orzieres to St. Peter's, and from St. Peter's to Great St. Bernard^e. From Hannibal's halt of two days upon St. Bernard, superadded to the time which he had lost, by the circuitous route that he had taken to it; they were able to reach him here. To the astonishment of the whole army, which had given up all hopes of seeing them more; they now advanced into the camp in safety^f,

In

^d Livy xxxi. 35. says only "Aliquot," but Polybius iii. 53 speaks of πολλὰς μὲν and πολλὰ δέ.

^e Livy xxi. 35. "Sequendo vestigia agminis;" Polybius iii. 53. Τοῖς ἑξέοις ὁπομέναι.

^f Livy xxi. 35. "In castra pervenēre;" Polybius iii. 53. Παράδοξος ἀναδραμεύοντες, καὶ συνελθόντες πρὸς τὴν παρεμβολήν. They
"arrived

In the ascent to Great St. Bernard, small huts appear frequently on the hills, erected for the nightly shelter of the cows that graze there, and of the families that attend them. They are built also for all the joint operations, of the dairy and the kitchen; and are therefore called to this day by the Celtick appellation of *Chalets*, which means only sheds, and is founded back in the present *Shealings* of our own Highlanders, those huts near the spots of grazing in our Scottish Alps, where butter and cheese are made^z. Their walls are of rough stones, and about four feet high; while they themselves are divided into two apartments, one for the family, another for the cattle. But all the partition between them is a cratch, raised about eighteen inches only from the ground. To this the cows are tied, and over this they put their heads into the room where the family is, in order to share in their fire and partake of their society. Such fellowship has man with beast, in a pastoral state; and so accustomed does the beast become, to the domestick life of man!

Men *mix* with beasts, joint tenants of the *shed*.

The family have a fire before them, burning against the wall, and sending out its smoke at the openings between the walls and the roof. By this fire is hang-

“arrived *unexpectedly* in the camp” (i. 361), *απαδοξως*, astonishingly. Mr. Hampton is often feeble, when his author is strong.

^z Birt's *Letters from the Highlands* ii. 123, &c. *Chalet* is a word unknown to the French language. *Scail* (Irish and Erse) is a shadow, *Scailleach* (I. and E) is shady, and *Scailain* (E) is a fan, an umbrella.

ing

ing from a moveable crook of wood, a little kettle for making cheese; and the young dairy-woman of the hut may sometimes be seen, sitting upon the cratch against the fire, placed between the heads of her cows, stroking them at times, throwing her arms about their necks, and so forming a picture that might claim the pencil of a Teniers^b. But no such scenes as these are exhibited, on the top of Great St. Bernard. Not a *chalet* is to be seen anywhere upon it, the nearest in the way of ascent being about two miles to the north of St. Peter's^c. Nor can we wonder at this. Not a blade of grass is to be found, upon the summit^k; and the summit therefore presents the same naked appearance, as the burning sands of the line. So philosophically as well as poetically just is *our* Homer, when he ascribes the scorching quality of heat to cold, and says;

The parching air

Burns-frore, and cold performs the effect of fire^l.

How naked and forlorn then must this Alpine height have appeared, to the eyes of the Gauls, to the eyes of the Spaniards and Carthaginians, to the eyes of

^b Saussure i. 322—323, and Bourrit i. 55—57.

^c Saussure iv. 241, and the map prefixed to vol. iii.

^k Saussure iv. 225.

^l So we have in Virg. Georg. i. 93. "Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat;" in Pliny iii. 20. "præustis in transitu Alpium nive membris;" and in Eccclus. xliii. 20, 21. "when the cold north-wind bloweth,—it *devouneth* the mountains, and *burneth* the wilderness, and *consumeth the greis as fire*." So old is the French theory in Coxe i. 333. Experience teaches quicker than philosophy, and feeling is prior to reason.

all who were not prepared, for such a sameness of operation in two such opposite causes ! But all must have been reconciled to the view, by that happy pliancy of the human mind, which saves it from being shocked with any object, that it is gradually brought to observe. They must have seen the power of vegetation gradually sinking, as they came near the top of the mountains ; and have noted it to be utterly extinguished, some miles before they reached the top^m ! The cause of all this they would too feelingly experience, in the rigorous blasts that were acting so powerfully upon their bodies. But the dreariness and dismalness of the whole scenery, was accidentally heightened to them in a very formidable manner ; by a heavy fall of snowⁿ, during the last night of their encamping there^o. They were not yet recovered from the fatigue and distress, with which they had been so sorely assaulted before. Their spirits therefore were more susceptible of sorrowful impressions, from any unfavourable incident that should happen to them. A fall of snow was just such an incident as that. It was naturally indeed to be expected there, at this late season of the year ; into which Hannibal had been thrown by the various obstacles, that he had been forced to encounter, and by the long list of states, that he had

^m Martyn p. 20.

ⁿ Polybius iii. 54. *Τῆς δὲ χειμῶνος ἡδὴ ὡπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦς ἀπορροιαμένης ;*
Livy xxi. 35. "Festis tædio tot malorum, nivis etiam casus."

^o See the Sequel.

been obliged to traverse. It was at a point of the year, precisely distinguished by the setting of those several stars in the neck of the constellation Taurus, which the Greeks called Pleiades and the Romans Vergiliæ; which rise in the spring, appear through the summer, but set in the end of autumn, and so form that arc of the year's circle, as it were, which is marked to men in Europe by soft airs, bright skies, and warm suns. "On the *twentieth* and *twenty-first* of October," says Columella, "at sun-rising the Vergiliæ begin to set; *this betokens storms.*" But "upon the *twenty-eighth*," he adds, "the Vergiliæ set; *winter comes with cold and ice.*" So spoke to the Romans that family Oracle, that domestic Lar of antient and of modern days, the Almanack^p. We hence know the very exact time of the year, in which Hannibal made this part of his march; and even the very week, in which he crossed St. Bernard. "The setting of the Pleiades now *approached*," says Polybius; "the star of the Vergiliæ was now *setting*," adds Livy^q. Hannibal was upon the ridge of the Alps, between the TWENTIETH and TWENTY-EIGHTH
of

^p See the Roman Almanack in Grævius viii. 134. There we have these words of Columella on the 20th, "*hæc et sequenti die, solis exortu, Vergiliæ incipiunt occidere; tempestatem significat.*" On the 28th, we have these from Columella: "*Vergiliæ occidunt; hiemat cum frigore et gelicidiis.*"

^q Polybius iii. 54. *Δια το συνελθαι την της Πλειαδος δυσιν*; Livy xxi. 35. "*Occidente jam sidere Vergiliarum.*" Mr. Hampton i. 361: "it was now near the time of winter." Such is the version, indefinite, loose, vague, and impertinent! Had not Mr.

of OCTOBER ; a period very late for an army, for even a traveller, over this bleak and lofty Atlas of Europe.

“ The Alps,” observes Polybius, “ on their tops and on the parts adjoining to the passes, are all perfectly bare of trees and naked in themselves ; *because the snow lies upon them continually, both summer and winter*.” This account however, though given by an author who had actually travelled over the Alps, is confused, exaggerated, and false. The present history shows it to be so. There was no snow even on the top of Great St. Bernard, when the Carthaginians first encamped upon the ground of it. What snow they had, was such as fell after their arrival. Nor is the naked aspect of the hills confined to the tops, as Polybius intimates, but, as I have already shown, extending some miles down the ascent. Yet such is the propensity of mankind to exaggerate, that modern, that philosophical writers have spoken nearly in the same extravagance of lan-

Hampton learning enough, to *circumstantiate* this note of time ? Or did he wish to divest his author, of all appearance of learning ? He should certainly have been as *particular*, as Polybius.

† Polybius iii. 55. Τῶν γὰρ Ἀλπίων τὰ μὲν ἀκρὰ, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἀνηκούσια, τελὲς ἀειδύρα καὶ ψίλα παῖλ' ἐστὶ, διὰ τὸ συνεχῶς ἐπιμένειν τῇ χιόνι, καὶ θερὺς καὶ χειμῶνος. “ For the tops of the Alps [and the parts adjoining to the passes], which are covered through *all* seasons with *perpetual* snows, produce neither “ tree nor pasture” (i. 364). The negligence of the author is as great, as his wordiness.

guage.

guage. Thus even he whom we must in strictness of precision, though with some harshness of diction, call the Lapidary Naturalist of the Alps, talks of the snow on Great St. Bernard, as "almost always" surrounding the lake there, and "almost always" adding to the darkness of its deep waters^s. But both he and Polybius unite to strangle the falsehood, which both have combined to generate. The historian shews his philosophy to be false, by his narrative; though he had not the judiciousness, to rectify that by this. He proves no snow to have been upon the ground, when the Carthaginians encamped on it; by the terror which (as I shall soon show) he relates a fall of it to have occasioned in them, during their stay. Great St. Bernard, adds the naturalist in another place, "*is very near,*" and consequently not *within*, not *at*, "the boundary of eternal snows; *because* it is commanded by the *Sommités*, which, *being raised much above the boundary*, remain eternally *covered with snow*, and *continually* chill all around *them*." Though the elevation of the pass over Great St. Bernard is so very high, yet it is overtop-

^s Saussure ix. 225. "Un petit lac, qui paroît noir à cause de sa profondeur, et surtout à cause des neiges dont il est presque toujours environné."

^t Saussure iv. 241. "Sa position est très-voisine du terme des neiges éternelles, parce qu'elle est dominée par des Sommités, qui étant fort élevées au-dessus ce terme, demeurent éternellement couvertes de neige, et refroidissent continuellement tout ce qui les environne."

ped by pikes, which are no less than 1500 feet higher than it, and are covered with perpetual snow in every part, where the steepness will permit the snow to lie". So over-heightened are all accounts of this pass, that place perpetual snows upon it; when in fact the pass is just as Hannibal found it on his arrival, free from snow itself, though bordered by snow upon the lofty *spires* of mountain on each side! But, from *that* very near accumulation and *this* perpetual continuance of snow, the air of the mountain must necessarily be very sharp, and the rains of winter must begin to descend early in snows. Another circumstance also concurs, to lend a greater sharpness to the air at all seasons. The long, narrow valley, in which the buildings, the lake, and the plain are situated, lies nearly north-east and south-west, in the general direction of the Alps here, and consequently in the course of the very winds too; the latter always following the line of great mountains, and sweeping with their currents along the sides of that lofty barrier, which obstructs their proper course". From both these causes the superior inhabitants of the hill, who have gardens on some petty platforms, in the most sheltered spots between the rocks that the neighbourhood will furnish; find it difficult to make them produce by the end of August, some lettuces and some cabbages of a small sort, a little spinage, and a little forrel. Even these they cultivate more

* Martyn 21.

* Saussure iv. 241.

for their own amusement in the labour, and from the pleasure of seeing some vegetation upon the hill; than for any real utility, which they derive from them. They are therefore obliged to fetch all their necessary provisions, from the screened vallies below^x. In one valley, a little below, but upon the ascent of the hill; which is open to the north, but closed on the other quarters, and enjoying the warmth of the sun only for a few moments in a day; a quantity of snow fell some years ago, that continued unmelted for several summers, and the mountaineers apprehended would turn into a very Glaciere^y. On St. Bernard itself, the thermometer descends even in summer, and almost every evening in it, nearly to the freezing point. On the 25th of September 1783, a whole month earlier than the time of Hannibal's passage over it, the glass descended to this point, and all the hill was covered with new snow; though on the very same day it stood in a town of Italy immediately below, at sixteen degrees above the point. It even descends below, whenever the wind comes round to the north^z. In the very height of summer, in the very noon of day, the smallest breath of a northerly wind brings with it a cold exceedingly severe. On the 1st of August 1767, nearly three months earlier than Hannibal's

^x Saussure iv. 242 and Martyn 20—21.

^y Saussure iv. 266.

Bourrit iii. 274, and Martyn 20—21.

passage over the mountain, and at one o'clock in the afternoon; the thermometer in the open air, though the sun was hid only by some slight, passing clouds, and frequently struck upon the ball, was yet one degree below the point; and all the water upon the hill was crufted over with new ice^a.

All this natural coldness of the air, so formidably heightened to Hannibal by the actual commencement of winter; and the variety of new dangers, with which this dangerous pass is *then* accompanied; have produced an addition of accommodation for travellers, which even the Romans, in all their attentions to their roads, never provided^b. Christianity

^a Saussure iv. 241—242.

^b M. Bourrit iii. 271, and M. Saussure iv. 225, have fixed here a kind of hospitable house, "un hospice," for travellers in the time of the Romans; but without any, the slightest, authority for their conduct. M. Saussure fixes it avowedly, as M. Bourrit fixes it seemingly, with the temple on the plain of Jupiter; but neither notices any remains of *that*, though the latter does of *this*. If it had stood anywhere, we may be sure it would not have been upon the bleak plain, but in the sheltered town. It did not exist at all; and the fancy of its existence is only a faint reflexion; from a real one that was founded afterwards; like the gleam of the Alpine sun in August, weak in its power, and only mocking us with its lustre. The fancy was just lively enough to form an assertion, but too feeble to venture on a proof. It therefore serves usefully to shew us, how free and rash in their averments even philosophical writers can be at times; persuading themselves of the *probability* of a point, and then affirming the *reality* of it. "Ce qu'il y a de plus certain," says M. Bourrit, "c'est qu'il y avoit un hospice pour les voyageurs, et un temple dédié au Dieu Pennin." Or, as M. Saussure adds, "on passe au plan de Ju-

anity alone could have prompted and invigorated the human mind, to provide this. That elevated spirit of charity, which has multiplied poor-houses and propagated hospitals all over Christendom; houses of benevolence, such as Romans in their highest refinements so little knew, that they have no appropriated word in their language to signify either; proceeding in the same career of humanity, has settled a CONVENT at the old town, dedicated to St. Bernard, so extending its own appellation to the hill itself, and calculated for the relief of wretched travellers. This has now turned the whole town of the Gauls and Romans, into an inn, a hospital, an infirmary for them. The monks of this convent assist travellers with a care and a cordiality, that do infinite honour to the institution and to themselves, that sweep away at once all our Protestant prejudices against monks, and exhibit *these* to us as the most beneficent beings of our race.

There are ordinarily between twenty and thirty monks belonging to the convent, the number not being absolutely fixed; eight of them are usefully

“ piter, ainsi nommé à cause d’un temple et d’un hospice, qui existoit
 “ là du temps des Romains.”

‘ The word used in the middle ages, *Spittal*, and the word now used, *Hospital*, are not to be found in the language with this sense to them; *Hospitium* being merely an inn, and *Hospitiolum* a small inn, still retained in their native signification, by our old *Hofstaller* for an innkeeper, and by our new *Hotel* for an inn.

dispersed

dispersed among the Alpine parish-churches, that are under their patronage; and ten or twelve are constantly resident here, being such as, from their age and health, are able to bear the keen atmosphere of the mountain. The few others, who can no longer bear it, are permitted to reside with the aged *Provost* of the whole, in a house which belongs to the convent, and is situated at Martigny below^d. The monks of the mountain are employed in a manner, of which British Protestantism, removed from the sight of such institutions, and naturally warped with its own prejudices, has no conception; in the prosecution of their private studies, in the instruction of their *novices*, in the education of some scholars who are sent to board and lodge with them, and in managing the temporal œconomy of the whole. They have a *Prior*, the deputy of the *Provost*, and the governor of the convent in his absence; a *Sacristan*, who takes care of their chapels, and whom we have equally among ourselves, but have degraded into a mere sexton, the humble toller of bells, and the low digger of graves; a *Cellarer*, such as the kings of Scotland used to have under the same title, and our kings still retain under that of gentleman of the cellar, but, in the more contracted state of monastick than royal households, acting in a more extensive capacity, and serving as purveyor, comptroller, steward too, by superintending the provisions of the kitchen,

^d Saussure iv. 237.

and managing all the exterior concerns of the monastery; a *Clavandier*, who keeps the keys, and dispenses the articles wanted to the monks and to the travellers; and an *Infirmier*, who takes care of the sick in the apartment appropriated to them*. The cellarer keeps twenty horses constantly employed during the summer, in fetching the magazines of flower, bread, cheese, liquors, and dried fruits, for themselves and their guests; or forage for their milch cows and fatting cattle; during the winter. Their firewood, of which they expend a very great quantity, is brought them on the backs of mules, from a distance of four leagues, and by a steep path that is practicable only for six months in the whole year. Then, before the winter sets in, they send down their horses for the season, to a farm which they have on the northern side of the Rhone†.

But it is peculiarly pleasing to a tender mind, to note the useful sollicitude of these amiable monks, on such days as the pass is most frequented; in personally receiving, warming, and recovering travellers, that are exhausted by their excess of fatigue, or indisposed from the severity of the air. With equal eagerness, they attend their own countryman and a foreigner. They make no distinction of state, of sex, or of religion; and ask no questions, concerning

* Saussure iv. 247, 236—237.

† Simler 82, Saussure iv. 242, Bourrit iii. 270, Martyn 21.

the nation or the creed of the wretched. Their wants or their sufferings are, what primarily entitle them to their care. Yet, in winter and in spring, their solicitude has a larger scope of activity, and takes a wider range of attention. From that very time nearly, in which Hannibal carried an army over Great St. Bernard, and at which the Romans reckoned the general winter of Italy to commence, from the 1st of November through the winter, to the 1st of May; a trusty Alpine servant, who as an Alpine is denominated a *MARONNIER*, and one or two dogs of an extraordinary size with him, are constantly engaged in going to *meet* travellers, a considerable way down the descent toward the Vallais, even as far as St. Peter's.

These dogs possess an instinct and receive a training, which fit them to be peculiarly useful in their employment. They point out the road to the guide and the travellers, through fogs, tempests, and snows. They have also the sagacity to discover tra-

§ Saussure iv. 237—238, “jusqu’ à la moitié de la descente,” corrected thus in 244—245, “jusqu’ au bourg de St. Pierre, qui est *presque* à la moitié de la hauteur de cette montagne;” and wrong in both places, as St. Peter’s is only *nine* miles from the summit, and the whole ascent is twenty-four. See also Bourrit iii. 273, and Martyn 20. Simier 82 says, that they go to meet travellers “*ab utroque montis latere.*” So they did in his time, we may be sure from his testimony; but, as we have seen, they do not now.—For *Maronnier*, see a note at the end of the chapter.

vellers, that have wandered out of the way, have floundered in the drifts of snow, and are lying wearied, exhausted upon them. But, what forms a wonderful addition of kindness, the monks often go themselves with the guide; in order to see assistance more promptly administered to the unfortunate, and to act occasionally as friends to the soul equally with the body. Even when the guide is not sufficient of himself, to save the unhappy traveller from perishing; they run to his assistance themselves, support him with their own arms, lead him with their own hands, and sometimes carry him up to their convent upon their own shoulders. They are often obliged to use a kind of friendly violence to him, when he is benumbed by the cold or worn out by the fatigue. He then insists upon being left to rest, or even to sleep, for a moment upon the snow. The torpid influence of the cold is stealing upon him, renders all motion unpleasant, and is gently carrying the sleep of death from the extremities to the heart. The monks know this; and the very thing which he dislikes, they know to be the only means of saving him. They are therefore compelled to shake the traveller in his deadly doze, and to drag him by force from his fatal bed of slumber. They thus expose themselves to all the severities of the weather, in order to save others. They necessarily suffer much, in the work. At times, when the quantity of snow upon the ground prevents them from walking fast, and so their bodies are not properly warmed with their

their own motion; their extremities would congeal with the cold, before they perceived their numbness. They are therefore obliged to carry short thick staffs with them then, armed at the ends with iron; and to strike their hands and feet with them, continually^h.

They even stretch their exertions of humanity, beyond all this. About three miles below the convent on the road of Hannibal's ascent, they have built a small vaulted room, that is called the hospital. This is intended for the casual refreshment of travellers, benumbed with the cold, and unable to reach the convent. The trusty *Maronnier* visits it frequently, in order to meet the traveller; but goes principally at the approach of night; and, when he sets out on his return, leaves some bread, cheese, and wine behindⁱ. This man even sallies out extraordinarily, when a storm is just over, with his stock of wine and meat; takes his way to the building, and assists all that he finds distressed^k. The monks themselves also may be frequently seen on the tops of their rocks, watching to do offices of humanity. They turn their view eagerly on every side, endeavour to spy out the distressed, and fly to their succour. When the new snow is deep upon the ground, they appear making roads through it, run-

^h Sauffure iv. 238—239, and Simler 293—294 additionally for this fatal tendency to sleep upon snow.

ⁱ Sauffure iv. 267—268.

^k Martyn 20.

ning to the sounds of distress, and preventing fatal accidents by charitable vigilance¹.

But notwithstanding all these glorious exertions of humanity, upon the hill which Hannibal traversed so late, as the beginning of winter and the very falling of the snows; scarcely a winter passes over this mountain, in which some traveller is not brought to the convent, with his limbs frozen into absolute inactivity. In these moments, the use of ardent liquors is exceedingly dangerous, and often occasions the death of the traveller. He thinks to warm himself, with drinking that modern production from wine by the fire of distillation, that general *stimulus* on any common impediments of the circulation, in wine countries, or in countries bordering upon them; *Brandy*. The potion does in fact communicate a warmth and an activity to him, for some moments after he has drunk it. The efficacy is too strong, and the potency too great, not to be felt. But the potency and the efficacy form the baneful nature of it, in that state of the applicant. Accordingly this force upon the spirits is shortly followed, with a debility and a faintness that are absolutely incurable. In the frozen and rigid state of the vessels, the sudden impulse given to the current breaks down the banks, and destroys the navigation^m.

¹ Bourrit iii. 269—270.

^m Saussure iv. 239.

Yet the zealous benevolence of these monks does all, that can be done by benevolence and zeal united; when they have to combat with such lofty mountains as these Alps, and to struggle with such angry elements as are upon them. They almost rise, into a complete superiority over both. They particularly do so in some cases, that are still more desperate and dreadful than all the rest. The traveller is sometimes overwhelmed at once, and plunged into the body of a mountainous snow-ball. When he is not very deep, the dogs discover him by the scent; but when any is missing, whom *their* sagacity cannot penetrate far enough to discover, the monks engage in a laborious office themselves. They range upon the snow, and sound it with long poles. The resistance, which they feel at the end, tells them decisively, whether it is a rock or a body that they strike. If it is a body, they instantly clear away the snow over it, and bring the person to air and life again. They have been the means of rescuing many in this way, from the very jaws of death". The amazing sweep of destruction, which these *globes of snow* frequently carry with them, may be sufficiently estimated from one of them; that fell upon a party of Swiss soldiers marching over the Alps, and buried no less than *sixty* of them in its vast bulk". But to be more particular, as particularity is the soul of description to a being formed like man; and to show

" Saussure iv. 240.

• Simler 289.

the dangers more strikingly, to which Hannibal and his men were exposed; I will relate an anecdote of what happened lately, on the very pass over Great St. Bernard. In the year 1781 some travellers attempted to pass the mountain, when the snows had fallen. They could not be induced to stay by the obliging monks, more wary than they concerning the weather, and more experienced about the road. These, finding their efforts to detain them unavailing, ordered their servants to prepare for conducting them along the pass. The travellers however, without waiting for their guides, took the road from the convent towards Italy, and went along the side of the lake, about nine in the morning. In such a road and at such a season as that, travellers should always keep themselves close to each other; to be more in a state of general resistance against the snowballs, and to be more capable of lending or receiving aid in struggling out of the snows. But this precaution was totally neglected by the travellers, in their impatience to push on; and they marched in a file, one after the other, with a considerable interval between some of them. In this disposition, and when they had but just wished each other a happy journey, a snowball flew with the rapidity of lightning from one of the pikes on their right, and burst in an instant destruction upon their heads. At the noise which this made, the prior of the convent opened hastily his window, threw his eye in a glance along the road, and, seeing no appearance of the travellers,

lers,

lers, at once took in the whole calamity. He immediately gave an alarm to the house, the inhabitants all assembled, the long poles were taken in their hands, and they rushed out in a hurry, unchecked by the danger of being lost themselves. What an affecting spectacle does this exhibit to us; men who encounter the greatest difficulties, who fear not even death itself, in order to save the dying. With very great difficulty, these good fathers had the happiness to recover from the snows, the greatest part of the travellers. These were carried to the convent, and brought back to life by the care that was taken of them. Three alone perished; and their bodies were not found till two months afterward, when the snows melted^p.

But let me here notice one particular concerning this convent, that is necessary to the very authentication of such extensive charities. The poor and the rich, says M. Bourrit, “are here received *gratis*.” M. Saussure also relates, without any distinction of the rich from the poor, that the convent “exercises a hospitality so extended and so ex-

^p Bourrit iii. 118—120. Simler 290 says: “si is qui nive obrutus est, manus sub nive non prorsus indurata movere, et aliquid spicii circa faciem excavare possit; aliquam sub nivibus respirandi facultatem nanciscitur, atque in alterum et tertium etiam diem sub nivibus vivere potest.”

^q Bourrit iii. 370. “Les uns et les autres y sont recus *gratis*.”

“pensive *gratuitously*”. Thus charity is magnified, till it becomes a paradox, incredible in itself, and impossible to be imitated. Let me therefore bring down this benevolence from the clouds, in which it is so injudiciously placed by both those writers; and place it where it ought to stand, upon the earth. Simler enables me to do this effectually. The monks, he tells us, “give food *gratis* to the poor; the rich make *presents for their reckoning*, each according to his “own inclination.” This mode of acting speaks for itself. Simler shews what Messrs. Saussure and Bourrit conceal, the *propriety* of such charity, and the *practicability* of it in such circumstances. All that are able to make the monks a pecuniary compensation, do so; but are delicately left to consult their own feelings, and from these to determine equally the act and the degree of recompense. They thus form an additional fund, for extending the charity to those travellers, who really need it. Benevolence then wears the face of wisdom, and walks upon the earth, though she lifts her head to the skies:

Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit.

“I myself,” notes M. Saussure, “in passing the mountain met two Swiss soldiers, who, going the year before in the spring to rejoin their regiment in Italy, had been frost-bitten in their hands; whom

* Saussure iv. 235. “Exerce gratuitement une hospitalité aussi étendue et aussi dispendieuse.”

* Simler 83. “Pauperibus *gratis* victum dant, opulentiores (suo quisque arbitrato) symboli loco munera dant.”

“the

“ the monks recovered, and kept six weeks at the
 “ convent, without requiring the slightest return
 “ from them’.” What is true charity and benevo-
 lence to the poor, would be a waste of charity and
 a prodigality of benevolence to the rich.

This it was absolutely requisite to ascertain, as
 Hannibal’s passage is very much frequented still;
 particularly, at the fairs holden in Lombardy, at the
 conventions of the States of the Vallaisans in May,
 and during a scarcity of corn upon one side of the
 Alps, with an abundance of it on the other”.
 During such a scarcity in 1771 and 1772, which
 reached over a part of France and the whole of
 Switzerland, a very considerable quantity of wheat
 and rice came from Italy by this road. *Three*
hundred mules were then seen in a *day*, loaded with
 corn, and crossing the mountain”. But, even in the
 ordinary state of passage, no less than *seven or eight*

† Sauffure iv. 240. “ i’ ai moi-même rencontré, en passant, la
 “ montagne, deux soldats Suisses, qui l’année précédente, en
 “ allant au printemps rejoindre leur regiment en Italie, avoient
 “ eu les mains gelées; et que l’on avoit guéris, et gardés pendant
 “ six semaines au convent, sans exiger d’eux la moindre retribu-
 “ tion.”

‡ Sauffure iv. 246. “ The “ semestres” in Sauffure here are
 the diets, which are thus described by Simler 25: “ Nomino
 “ hic Senatium, quem vulgò vocant *des landts raadt*; hic, more
 “ majorum, quotannis bis convocatur, Maio et Decembri mensi-
 “ bus; quo tempore, ex singulis pagis bini et nonnunquam terni
 “ legati conveniunt, idque Seduni in castro Majorum.” See also
 Coxæ i. 381.

§ Sauffure iv. 244.

iboufend

thousand persons cross the hill every year. The number of travellers therefore, who have been assembled in the convent at once, has been very considerable. There was one single evening of 1782, in which they amounted to *five hundred and sixty-one*; when three sacks of corn, twenty sheep, and four oxen, could hardly furnish provisions sufficient for them. They have even amounted at times, to *six hundred*^{*}. These travellers too have been all compelled by the badness of the weather, to continue two or three days in the convent, before they could venture to resume their journey[†]. With such a host of visitors, a prudent œconomy in the management of their funds, and a discriminating generosity in the dispensation of them, must be absolutely necessary. •

The whole building is a long square, constructed of stone, and devoid of ornament. The church, the dining-hall, the bedrooms for the poor, and the kitchen with its great fires, are on the ground-story; while the bedrooms of the monks, and chambers for passengers of distinction, are in the story above[‡]. These with their chapel at a little distance, the houses for their numerous attendants, the stables for their own horses and the horses of travellers, the sheds for their milch cows and fattening cattle, the garners for all their provisions, the slaughter-house, the larder, the brew-house, the bake-house, the

* Bourrit iii. 274.

† Simler 295, and Bourrit ii. 118, "le troisieme jour."

‡ Saussure iii. 225, Bourrit iii. 270.

wood-house, and all the other appendages necessary to such an establishment of family, and such an inundation of guests; must constitute an Alpine town of themselves. There all the strangers are received, lodged, and entertained, in the most liberal and yet the most un-affected manner; equally without one trace of ostentation, and yet with an air of courteous cordiality^a. Such a sober and steady emanation of Christian charity, have we here before our eyes! The monks of Great St. Bernard, indeed, appear as the heroes of beneficence to the Christian world. They were first fixed here in the fourth century probably, when the first St. Bernard (as I have previously supposed) took down the statue of Jupiter in the temple, and left his own name instead of Jupiter's to the mountain. This name was certainly imposed, before the days of Bernard abbot of Clairvaux, and even before the time of Bernard the founder of this convent. Thus Hartman, almoner of *St. Bernard's monastery*, was made bishop of Lausanne in 851; Valgaire, *abbot of Mont Joux*, had a decree pronounced against him by Lewis the Pious, in 832; and Lothaire the II^d. king of Lorraine, in ceding Geneva, Lausanne, and Sion to his brother the Emperor in 859, particularly reserved *the hospital of St. Bernard*^b. There was consequently a hospital, an abbey, or a monastery, upon the summit of Mont Joux, and dedicated to St. Bernard, as early

^a Saussure iv. 266, 242, Bourrit iii. 270, 280.

^b Simler 83 and Saussure iv. 230—231.

as that period^c. But then this was only a convent in the usual style, like the convent on St. Gothard and other heights of the Alps at present. It was a monastick society sequestered peculiarly from the world, by being placed upon the crest of this very lofty mountain; peculiarly raised above the world, by being exalted into the region of the clouds; and subjected to the severest of all discipline, by being exposed to perpetual cold and buffeted with eternal storms. But, in the tenth century, the common idea of a convent was dilated and enlarged, by the expanding vigour of a single mind. A man of the sacred order, that order (let one of its members say) of instituted and of actual, of great and of general, beneficence to mankind; one BERNARD MENTHON, archdeacon of Aosta, conceived the magnificent project, of making this convent eminently serviceable to the interests of humanity. He broke in upon the restrictions of the cloister, to admit the visits of Charity into it. He threw open the painted window (as it were) in the chapel of the monk's devotions, and let in the cheering sun of beneficence upon him. While he still left him at times to his sequestration,

^c Sauffure iv. 231 is weak enough to suppose, that the hill *might* take its name from Bernard, the uncle of Charlemagne, and the commander of a detachment that passed this way, in Charlemagne's expedition against the Lombards; without once reflecting, that this Bernard was no saint, either in real or in popular history. The calendar of the church would be greatly over stocked indeed, if the commanders in war were to be all marked with the red letters of saint-ship.

his clouds, and his prayers; he drew him off, like an angel sent from heaven in attendance upon man; to see the miseries of the world beneath him, to feel for its sorrow, and to act for its consolation. He gave the monks a capacity and a command, to relieve the distresses of all the numerous travellers, that went by this grand, this principal road in and out of Italy. Such was the happy power of Christianity, in one good head and good heart! A character like this is as great in genius and in understanding perhaps, as a Hannibal himself; and is certainly greater, in moral dignity. Yet a world, that is fond of its destroyers, looks up with superior admiration at a Hannibal than a Bernard, mounted as they both are now upon the same crest of the Alps. A comet is stared at with amazement, while the sun is beheld with indifference.

The same power of Christianity occasioned this archdeacon, to fix also some monks under an equal obligation of beneficence, upon Little St. Bernard; that *facellum* to the temple of Jupiter before, and that *cell* probably to St. Bernard's monastery afterwards. But the road over Little St. Bernard being not much frequented in Menthon's days, any more than it is in ours; being then, as now, frequented only in the finest season of the year, and only by such Savoyards as have business in the vale of Aosta; he settled only *two* of his monks upon *this* hill, while he established a *number* upon *that* ^c.

^c Saussure iv. 232, and Bourrit iii. 258, 256.

He became the governor of his own convent on Great St. Bernard, governed it in person for forty years, and died in 1008. In 1049 Pope Leo the IXth, going into Germany, and passing over this mountain, was so pleased with the benevolent attentions of the new monks upon it; that he induced his cousin count Frederick de Ferette, to fetch from this monastery the first canons, that he placed in his town of Ferret within Sundgau, and at what is now the parochial church of it^d. But the original design, which had been promoted by a long train of posterious benefactions, has been latterly injured much in the comprehensiveness of its utility. The possessions even of such a society as this, have been taken away in part; not by the sweeping rapacity of reformation, but by the violence and the frauds of Popery itself. The road continued to be the one grand avenue into Italy, not merely from the Valais, Switzerland, Germany, or all, but even from these British isles; as late as the *twelfth* century at least. Our own Malmesbury shews this, when he says; that "to those, who cross the Alps, the city of Aosta is the first which presents itself." Little St. Bernard, as we have just seen, was too insignificant in itself to be meant by this easy designation; and the way of Aosta is that regular line of descent from Great St. Bernard, into which the road of Little St.

^d Savigny iv. 232.

^e Malmesbury fol. 112. "Augusta civitate,—quæ se primam transcendentibus Alpes exhibet." Savile's edition.

Bernard falls in an angle. The convent on Great St. Bernard, therefore, was kept up in high vigour. Even so late as 1460, its property was very great; and this greatness was at once the effect and the cause, of its extensive beneficence. The experienced utility of such a charitable society on such a frequented road, attracted the donations of many, and produced the relief of numbers. These friends of mankind had then several dignities, abbies, and livings, to which they could nominate their members; and, what concurrently shows the extent to which the road was frequented, possessed estates in the Vallais, Pays de Vaud, Savoy, and the vale of Aosta, *Sicily, Poland, the Low Countries, and England*. But their decline began at first, not from the desertion of the road, but from the tyranny of the pope. He usurped the nomination of their provost, the office having now become so rich in reality or in prospect, as to engage his eye. His nominee was always some noble Italian, who lived not at the convent, but in Aosta; just indeed as the provost now lives at Martigny, but not as the provost lives, only when age and sickness obliged him to flee from the keen atmosphere of the mountain, and court the softer gales of the valley below. The papal provost never resided on the mountain at all; but in that absolute sort of power, which was given originally to the presidents of all our convents and all our churches, I believe, and could extend its authority over the possessions of the whole, till experience

pointed out the necessity of communicated power and counter-checked authority, wasted the estates of the convent in a ruinous magnificence of luxury. In this manner did the monks lose their property in England, the Low Countries, Poland, and Sicily. In 1587 indeed they surprisingly recovered from the pope, their right of nominating their own provost, and so preventing the utter absorption of the convent in the provost-ship. They were thus happy, and continued so for a century and a half. Then a dissension arose among themselves, concerning this very nomination; which ended in the loss of other estates to them. So closely interwoven with misery, are many of the threads of human life! They were Swiss, they were Savoyards, in their chapter. These quarrelled nationally; the slightest straw serving man at times, as a ground of contest. Their quarrels even reached their respective nations, and the governors on both sides took part in the contest. The sovereign of Savoy claimed the power of nomination himself, under a papal bull of so old a date as 1451; in bar of this the Vallaisans, and their allies of Switzerland, alledged other bulls of a later date (as nothing but a bull could counteract a bull, even in this wane of papal authority), which gave the election entirely to the chapter. The point was referred to Rome, the issuer of both the bulls; and the business was agitated there for a period, almost equal to the length of a chancery suit among ourselves, no less than seventeen years. In 1752 the chapter was
victorious,

victorious, but the king of Sardinia took an ample revenge for his defeat; depriving the convent of all their estates in his dominions, the original donations of their founder probably. Yet the king did not, with a protestant spirit of sacrilege, either attach them to his crown or dispense them to his nobles; but transferred them only to another corporation of charity, to the order of Hospitalers of St. Maurice and St. Lazare. The pope's decree, indeed, that gave *them* the victory, authorised *him* to take the revenge; the king's right of nomination, I suppose, being founded on the fact of Menthon's being his subject, and Menthon's endowment being in his dominions; and these being considered as revocable, when that was refused. By this means, the convent at the present day possesses only some lands and some rents, in the Vallais and the canton of Berne; the canton having too much respect for humanity, to deprive *such* a convent of its estates within it. The funds of the monks, therefore, are wholly insufficient; and they themselves are obliged to depend upon contingent charities. Contributions are accordingly allowed to be made for them, during four days of every year, in the republics of Berne, Friburg, Geneva, and in the principality of Neuchatel; but at more distant periods, in the other cantons of Switzerland. The king of France too, with a generosity that does honour to the crown, officially considers himself as their patron, and sends them donations; as if the pass over Great St. Bernard was

still, what we have seen the road over the Pennine Alps to have been, the one only avenue out of France^a. The Protestants also of Switzerland and the Vallais, unite with the Papists of France and of their own country, in supporting by their mutual assistance such a cloister of Christian and Practical Philosophers^b.

So strongly has Europe attested in every age of established Christianity, and so strongly does it continue to attest, the great importance of that pass over the Alps, and the formidable dangers attending that road up them, which Hannibal used in his expedition! Yet I have two or three notices more to produce, which heighten the dangers and enhance the formidableness still more. I will just produce them, and then pursue the narration again.—Directly to the south of the convent, shoots up one of the lofty spires of the summit. This frequently discharges its growing burden of snows, upon the very convent itself. Snows have sometimes fallen from

^a I thus speak of the *king* of France, as still existing: the republick, that production of the grossest and most pompous perjury, which has risen up like a puffball from a dunghill in the dark, being sure in every historical view to disappear as suddenly as it sprung, to spend itself in its own emissions of smoke and soot, and so resolve into its generative dung again.

^b Bourrit i. 30, 93, 94, iii. 274—275, and Saussure iv. 231—236. Before this dispute it was, I apprehend, that the monks sent their *Marcenier* “*ab utroque montis latere*” to meet travellers (Simler 82); and it is *since* this dispute, I believe, that they do so on the Northern side only.

it in such a volume of bulk, as reached up to the roof of the building. But, what is more remarkable, when the snow falls it gives that violent concussion to the air, which throws all the doors of the convent off from their hingesⁱ. Some winters too the cold has been so severe at the convent, that the thermometer has stood at twenty or two and twenty degrees, below the freezing point. This violent excess of cold, however, has been only for a day or two. But in the winter of 1784, which was very long and very sharp in our own island, and in that warmest, perhaps finest, part of it, the southern shore of Cornwall; the glass stood constantly *for six weeks together*, at eighteen or nineteen below. Even on the twelfth of March, it was at sixteen, a half, and ten lines, below. During this extreme frigidity of the air, the very chambers of the monks, that had no fire in them, kept the glass ordinarily at ten or twelve^k. Yet the monks live here during such winters as these, of eight months too in continuance, and in a solitude for those months, which is interrupted only by such alarming incidents as that, by the sufferings of over-venturisme travellers, and by their own endeavours to succour them at the hazard of their lives. The gloom of their minds, however, must be more affecting than the dangers of their bodies. They throw their eyes around them, and see nothing but a wild waste of snow, rocks shoot-

ⁱ Bourrit iii. 272—273.

^k Bourrit iii. 273—274.

ing up barren and brown in the midst of the dreary white, and a black lake of water always half frozen over. Their health is affected by this long continuance of cold and gloom. Catarrhs, gout, and rheumatism attack them. What therefore can induce men of a creditable rank in society, to resign themselves up to a life so sorrowful and so painful? What but that strong ray of Religion, which Christianity is ever bringing from heaven to earth; which, in its highest illuminations, has produced confessors and martyrs; in its lowest, is always exalting the soul above sense; and, in its influence between both, is making even Alpine snows, the cold of a Greenland, and the dismalness of a Nova Zembla, to be voluntarily sustained through the greatest part of life, in the certainty of reward from the awful Father of the world, at his period of general retribution, and on his establishment of final felicity^m. Yet, as I am almost sorry to add at the close, with all the assistance that compassion and power can lend in the persons of these monks; the passage is so terrible in winter, and *so much frequented even then by travellers*, that many perish every year. The numerous bodies of the dead, that are not owned or recognised, are melancholy evidences of the truth of this. These are reposed in one chapel at the hospital, and in another near the convent. There they lie extended upon the floor, with all their clothes upon them; the better

^l Saussure iv. 242—243.

^m Saussure iv. 243.

to promote the recognition of them: The cold air preserves them from putrefaction; and a body, that has lain there a couple of years, still maintains all its distinguishing appearances. But the sight is solemnly mournful, to a brother-sharer in mortality. Nor can anything but that high elevation of soul, which looks beyond the cloud of mortality, and sees the sun of futurity shining bright behind it, bear without a shock to behold the scene". Even some of the faithful dogs have perished, in their useful ministeries to travellers. But, what is most melancholy for a generous mind to know, some of the very monks themselves have lost their own lives, in saving the lives of others". Nor can I conclude this account of the convent and of the hill better, than by taking the short but lively description of both, drawn by a French traveller from his own feelings at the moment, and happily conveying his sensations to the minds of his readers. Journeying with company from Aosta up to Great St. Bernard, and having every advantage of season and of weather, he

" Saussure iv. 268, Martyn 20, and Bourrit iii. 280—281. Bourrit there says, that they thus keep the dead above ground, *because* they have no earth to bury them in, "*parce qu'il n'y a pas de terre pour les ensevelir.*" But the true reason is, what I have assigned; as they actually bury their dead in this extraordinary manner. "*Si qui hic moriantur,*" Simler says 33, "*cum nihil terre hoc loco sit, in profundissimam foveam ruptæ glaciæ subijciuntur: ea illorum sepultura est.*" The chapel at the hospital, I suppose, is what is marked in the map of Saussure vol. iii. as "*Cimetiere des passagers.*"

° Bourrit iii. 273.

thus breaks out on his entrance upon the summit of the mountain. "Curious to discover the situation of the convent," then cries M. Bourrit, "we threw our eyes on every side, and looked for this house where it was not to be found : at last we discovered it ; and *I cannot speak the sensations, which the sight of it made us feel.* What situation can be more strange than this ! It appeared to my eyes, like THE ARK OF THE DELUGE UPON THE MOUNTAINS OF ARMENIA, IN THE MIDST OF THE RUINS OF THE WORLD !"

Bourrit iii. 268. "Curieux de decouvrir la situation de l'Hospice, nous les [nos regards] promenions de tous les cotés, et nous cherchions cette maison là où elle n'étoit pas. Nous la decouvrimmes enfin, et je ne puis dire les sensations que sa vue nous fit éprouver. Quelle situation plus étrange ! elle paroissoit à mes yeux l'Arche du Deluge, posée sur les montagnes de l'Arménie, au milieu des ruines du monde."

"Inter alia mala," adds Simler, "frigus ingens his qui per Alpes iter faciunt molestum est, præsertim flante Boreâ : quare sæpe multorum artus vi frigoris amburuntur, atque aliis *naris aut aures*, nonnullis manuum aut pedum *digiti*, atque etiam ipsi *pedes*, vi frigoris obtupescunt et *pereunt*; multi *oculos ex perpetuo nivium usu* [visu] *amittunt*. Adversus hæc mala, varia præsidia sunt : *oculis* quidem, ut vel aliquid nigri prætentatur, vel *vitrea conspiciuntur* quæ *vocant*; reliquis membris, ut pellibus crassisque vestimentis bene contra frigus muniantur, ac *chartæ scriptariæ et membranæ* pectus *optima* a ventis frigidis defendunt : quodsi pedes obstupuerint, *noctis exutis calceis gelide aqua immerguntur*, et paulatim tepida affunditur; ita enim restitui creduntur" (p. 292—293).

— V. —

FROM all these horrors upon horrors of an Alpine winter, and all these keen severities of cold even in an Alpine summer, we see that Hannibal had been much favoured by the weather. Had the snow fallen five or six days before, and while he was entangled in the wilderness of the glaciers; he could not have found his way out to St. Peter's, and must have perished in the trackless desert. Had it fallen six or seven days earlier still, and before he had broke into the Alps, he would never have entered them at all. The sight of the snow already lying on the hills, and the fear of what might be added to it the night following, would have presented to the alarmed imaginations of his soldiery, the picture of mountains piled upon mountains, in order to fall upon their heads, and bury them in the midst of their giant-operations. Nor would this have been a mere picture, as their Gallick guides could tell them of the rolling mountains of snow, that even then buried whole caravans of travellers at times¹; and as we

¹ Strabo actually describes them thus, iv. 314. *Αἱ καὶ ἐκβαίνουσιν πλάται τῶν κρυφαλλῶν ποταμῶν ἰσχυροὶ αὖτις ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δύναμεναι, καὶ συνιέναι εἰς τοὺς ὑποκείμενους φαραγγαί;* “the
“ vast plates of ice sliding down from above, that are capable of
“ overwhelming a whole company of travellers, and of pushing
“ forward in one mass into the hollows below.”

have

have previously seen snow falling on the 25th of September, when Hannibal was only marching up to the Rhone, even new ice encrusting the waters on the 1st of August, when Hannibal had not yet passed the Pyrenees. The lateness of the season adds much to the dangers of the march, and shows in a stronger light the enterprizing vigour of Hannibal's mind. Yet he had not one of those hardy, insensible, and arrogant understandings, that attribute their good fortune to the ministrations of their own wisdom, and ascribe their bad to unlucky events. His acts of devoutness in the temples of Jupiter Penninus and of Hercules, with his dismissing prayer over his soldiery at the Rhone, as I have noticed before, show him not to have had it. In the comprehensiveness of his understanding he saw its narrowness, in the vigour of his spirit he felt its weakness, and therefore, in the wisdom of humility, he referred the final success of his exertions, to a wisdom and a power infinitely superior to his own. He must therefore have thought himself highly favoured by Heaven, that this year the winter did not come on till the end of October, till it was considered as coming regularly on, even amidst the plains and in the very heart of Italy. Had it, his Carthaginians must have been compelled with shame and anguish to desist from their attempt, to retire before the invincibility of winter, and to take up their quarters among the Gauls till spring. Thus would they have done, we may be sure; as a single shower of snow, and the first foul commencement of winter,

winter, actually carried a very great terrour with it to their hearts^b; even though it found them victorious over all the difficulties of ascent, standing tiptoe and triumphant on the crest of the Alps. So little reason had they to be alarmed, at a fall of snow now!

But the occasional feelings of men, are seldom proportioned to their reasonable expectations. They are peculiarly not so, when the mind has been previously pressed upon by sufferings. The soldiers awaked in the morning. They sallied from their tents, all accoutered for their farther march. The day had just begun to break^c. A wild and frightful appearance presented itself to their sight. They cast their eyes around, above, and below them. The snow lay thick upon the plain, on the rest of this long and narrow pass, and on the ranges of rock upon each side of it. From their lofty eminence too, they could see the mountains below them, as far as their eyes could range, all covered over with snow, all made discernible by it through the grey and hazy light of the morning, and casting a dismal kind of dead reflection upon the half-enlightened sky^d. The past, the present, and the future, were united in their minds by their immediately intended march, and

^b Polybius iii. 54. *Δυσθυμῶς διακείμενα*; Livy xxi. 35. "In-
gentem terrorem adjecit."

^c Livy xxi. 35. "Primâ luce."

^d Polybius iii. 54. *Τῆς δὲ χειμῶνος ἡδὲ περὶ τῆς ἀπρὸς ἀθροίζουσας.*

conspired

conspired to throw them into a despondency of soul^e. In this state of mind and spirits, they fell into their ranks on the snowy plain, and began to march along the snowy pass; their eyes, every time they glanced around them, bringing in a mournful confirmation to their former feelings. A dullness appeared evident in the steps, a despair was marked strong in the countenances, of them all^f. Hannibal perceived both. He saw the terrour in their faces, as he had them all drawn up before him, and as he probably beheld their eyes hastily thrown at the hills around, hastily returning to look at their companions, communicating their own fears by their looks, then receiving them back with increase from the looks of the others. But he saw it additionally when they began their march, in the heavy pace with which they set out; their eyes, no longer under the inspection of their general, now ranging freely to the right and left, I suppose; now resting upon one rock of snow, now on another; seeing them close to them on either hand, but feeling them closer from the march already begun; their nerves shrinking with the apprehensiveness of their minds, their legs not stretching out to a full pace, and their lifted feet not

^e Polybius iii. 54. *Ανοθυμας δακρυμια, και δια τας προεγγι-
αζουσας ταλαιωσιας, και δια τας εις προσδοκιμαστας.*

^f Livy xxi. 35. "Per omnia nive oppleta quævis signis—
motis, segniter agmen incederet, pigritiaque et desperatio in
omnium vultu emineret; Hannibal" &c.

lighting

lighting upon the ground again in a firm tread, to encounter this scene of Alpine and wintry terrors^s.

In such circumstances, a modern general would have ordered the soldiers to halt, and directed a dram to be given to each of them out of the stores; under pretence of fortifying their stomachs, against the raw cold air of the morning, the mountains, and the snows. He would never have had recourse to an *oration*, as Hannibal had. Even under the high prospects and exalting spirit of Christianity, modern philosophy has a strange tendency to consider man, one while as a mere being of reason, another while as a mere machine actuated only with life. All ideas of the magick power of eloquence over him, are discarded with the influence of magic itself; and man is left in war particularly, to be guided by a reason that is too impotent to direct, or to be compelled by sensations that are too blind to distinguish. The energy of the rational passions is not taken, into the moral estimate of man; and the power of that rational principle, the fancy, which, amid the agitating vicissitudes of war, carries a considerable sway with it, in admitting terror or introducing animation to the heart of a soldiery, is never thought of. The great

^s This incident with all its circumstances is stated by Polybius iii. 54. to have happened the day before he marched, as Hannibal is said to have begun his march *τῇ ἑξαυγῆτι*, or the day after all. But Livy's account, which is peculiarly circumstantial and useful here, speaks sufficiently for its own truth.

generals of antiquity appear, to have entertained more just and more raised conceptions of man. They applied themselves to him, as a being compounded of reason, fancy, and passions, the middle principle *partaking equally of the two extremes; and could thus wind up the feelings within him, to the liveliest and happiest energies of exertion.* Hannibal did so. He saw the necessity, of an immediate application to their understandings and imaginations; in order to dislodge the fear which their eyes had brought in, and to fix a hope fancy-formed and fancy-coloured in its place.

Hannibal appears peculiarly upon this occasion, a man of high sagacity, high address, and high eloquence. He advanced to the front of his leading column. He took his station there, says Livy, "on a certain promontory, from which he had a prospect far and wide into Italy^h." He stood undoubtedly at that extremity of the pass, where the narrow valley terminates a gentle descent from the convent, the lake, and the plain; and the road begins to go down for Italy, in a path winding between the rocksⁱ. At this the most south-westerly point of the whole passage, and on a projection overhanging Italy, he stood; while his army was moving towards

^h Livy xxi. 35. "Prægressus signa, Hannibal in promontorie quâdam, unde longè ac latè prospectus erat."

ⁱ Saussure iv. 225. "Un sentier tortueux entre des rochers."

him. Thence, as his van, his baggage, his main-body, came successively up to the ground, and prepared to file off successively by the path around it; he made them to halt, and pointed out the view of Italy to them. "*He collected them together,*" writes Polybius, "and endeavoured to animate them; catching at the one expedient for doing so, the evidence of Italy before them: for Italy is so directly under these hills, that, in surveying both, the Alps take the figure to the eye, of being the citadel of all Italy. Wherefore pointing out to them the plains about the Po, recalling to their memories the complete friendliness of the Gauls who inhabited them, and at the same time pointing at the place of Rome itself; he" &c^k. "He shews

^k Polybius iii. 54. Επιτάλο συναθροίσας παρακαλῶν, μίαν ἔχον ἀφορμὴν εἰς τέλος, τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐναργεῖαν· εἶω γὰρ ὑποσπένωνται τοῖς προσηρημένοις ὁρίσιν, ὥστε, συνδεδωρημένοι ἀμφοῖν, ἀκροπόλεως φανισθῆναι διαθεσιν ἔχειν τὰς Ἀλπεὶς τῆς ὅλης Ἰταλίας. διότι περὶ ἐνδικοκρυμμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίας, καὶ καθόλου τῆς εὐνοίας υπομιμητοῦσαν τῆς τῶν καλοικητῶν αὐτῶν Γαλατῶν, ἀμὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης τόπον ὑποδεικνύντων κ. ἡ. λ. "Annibal therefore had recourse to the only expedient that remained, to raise their drooping courage, [the evidence of Italy before them]. He assembled the troops together; and from the summit of the Alps, which, when considered with regard to Italy, appear to stand as the citadel of all the country, pointed to their view the plains beneath that were watered by the Po; and reminded them of the favourable disposition, the complete friendliness, of the Gauls [inhabiting those plains] towards them. He shewed them also the very ground, upon which Rome itself was situated" (1. 362).

"them Italy," adds Livy, "and the plains about the Po that lie under the Alpine mountains¹." I have translated both these passages, and translated them *literally*; because the incident has been the subject of a written controversy, and the terms are occasionally pressed into the service in conversation.

There are men, men eminent for learning and for judgment, men even meriting highly from the world of letters; who have been weak and wild enough, to think of ascertaining the course of Hannibal from this petty event thus briefly described, and so applying their foot-rule to the mensuration of a mount Caucasus. "At present," cries M. Dutens in his French Itinerary, after much confusion and much mistake concerning Hannibal, "if we pay attention to the famous circumstance reported by historians, that Hannibal, to encourage his foldiers, made them remark from the top of the Alps *the beauties* of the country, which they were going to conquer; *we can fix the very point, from which he showed them the plains of Italy*: for all the Piedmontese officers, who have seen service upon the Alps, have assured me; that in all the Alps there is only one mountain, close by the Col de Fenestrelles, from which it is possible to show the plain of Lombardy

¹ Livy xxi. 35. "Italiam ostendat, subjectosque Alpibus montibus Circumpadanos campos."

“to an army^m.” Such is this new-invented screw, that is to have the power of moving the whole current of history, raising it from its native bed, and throwing it upon a distant hill! But the potency of the screw is greater in reputation, than in reality. In fact it is not the screw of Archimedes, but that of a man ignorant of the laws of hydraulicks, a mere country-pumpmaker. I am sorry to say this of such a man; but M. Dutens, so great in science, is little in history. He has never considered the incident in Polybius and Livy, and never weighed their language concerning it. He takes it for granted, that Hannibal actually made his soldiers to *see* the plains of Italy, even to remark the *beauties* of them; and in this is most egregiously deluded. He might equally take it for granted, that Hannibal made them also *see* “the very place of Rome itself,” and also *remark* the *beauties* of it; when it was at the distance of four hundred miles. Polybius indeed uses two words a

^m Itineraire des routes les frequentés, ou Journal de plusieurs voyages aux villes principales de l'Europe, depuis 1768 jusqu'en 1783. Cinquieme edition. 1786. *Pour etre placé en face du Lac de Trasymène.*—“A present, si l'on fait attention à la fa-
“meuse circonstance, rapportée par les historiens, qu'Annibal,
“pour encourager les soldats, leur fit remarquer du haut des
“Alpes, les beautés du pays qu'ils alloient conquerir, on peut
“fixer le point même, d'où il leur montra les plaines d'Italie;
“car tous les officiers Piemontois, qui ont fait la guerre dans les
“Alpes, m'ont assuré, qu'il n'y a dans toutes les Alpes qu'une
“seule montagne, près du Col de Fenestrelles, d'où l'on puisse
“montrer à une armée la plaine de Lombardie.”

little different, for the indication of the two objects; Hannibal in the narration *εὐδεικνύμενος* or "pointing out" the plains of the Po, and *ὕποδεικνύων* or "pointing at" the place of Rome. But the words are apparently so near related, that the shade of difference between them, which I have endeavoured to express as faithfully as ever I can by some similar terms in English, is all imperceptible to the common eye. Learning however loves often to take a microscope in its hands, and then to fancy a difference which it cannot explain. To such criticks of the "microscopic eye," we may answer with a decisive brevity; that Livy, as good a judge of Polybius's greek as any modern, and a better judge of this Alpine view than even M. Dutens himself, *uses one and the same word* for indicating *both* objects; and makes Hannibal "shew" both "Italy *and* the plains about the Po," "*Italiam ostentat subiectoque Alpinis montibus Circumpadanos campos.*" Hannibal thus shewed the plains of the Po, only just as he shewed the site of Rome. So little need is there, of changing our Great St. Bernard for any other mountain!

The real "mount of speculation" indeed may be any, from which a Hannibal could pretend to shew equally the plains of the Po and the site of Rome. Only it must be, what M. Dutens states it in express language to be, but what in act he most contradictorily makes it *not* to be, a hill on "the *top* of the

"Alps"

"Alps." His anonymous hill near Col de Fenestrelles *certainly is not this*. In the distinctness of vision supposed and sought, this commanding circumstance has been entirely forgotten; and the grand reality of all has been swallowed up, in attention to a point merely imaginary.

An eagle, towering in its pride of place,
Is by a mousing owl hawk'd at and slain.

To prove this, I need only repeat a part of the Roman *Iter*, which I have formerly given at full length; "Brigantionem m. p. xviii," Briancon, "In Alpe Cottiâ v," Mount Genève, and the *top* of the Cottian Alps, "Ad Martis m. p. xxiv," Oulx, "Segusionem m. p. xvi," Susa, "*Fines* m. p. xxxiii," *Fenestrelle*, and "Taurinos m. p. xviii," Turin". Thus are we carried from the *summit* of the Alps, where M. Dutens himself places us, by some unperceived manœuvre of magical criticism, that involves M. Dutens as well as ourselves, to a hill at the *bottom* of them; Fenestrelle appearing from its name and its position, to stand at the Italian *foot* of the Alps, like Susa, and, like it, to be *not* in the Alps but in *Italy*. The magick therefore is exercising its frauds to a vast extent, annihilating the Alps entirely, and mounting us upon a hillock of Italy in their stead*.

* Chap. i. Sect. 2.

* See also map of Savoy &c. in maps for Mod. Un. Hist. in which the bounding line of Italy even now runs from mount Viso northwards, leaving Fenestrelle and Susa equally on the right, and at an equal distance from it.

All this is the result of that primary and violent absurdity, which had put others before upon selecting other hills for this supposed vision^p. But no plains of the Po can be *seen*, from the *top* of the Alps; any more than the site of Rome can. The *top* of the Alps is raised too high above the clouds, to admit any view at all of any land in Italy. We are told indeed, that Great St. Bernard affords a very extensive prospect over this country^q. So it undoubtedly must; but then the prospect is one of indistinctness, of fogs, and of fancy only. Five or six miles *below* St. Bernard, we reach the region of the clouds as we ascend^r; and the view from St. Bernard itself, therefore, can be only a view of clouds. We have accidentally a delineation of it from a writer, who looked down upon what he knew to be Italy but could not see, from one of the pikes of the mountain; who could not behold more from the pike than from the

^p A hill near mount Cenis, I think, has been selected by Lalande or some such traveller. Simler selects mount Genève, or mount Dennis near it. "Polybius refert, et Livius quoque, Annibalem in summâ Alpe, ut animos militibus adderet, ostendisse illis Italiam et subjectos Alpibus Circumpadanos campos: sed ex jugis Pennini hæc non poterant cerni: possunt autem hæc demonstrari ex jugis Genebræ aut Dionysii," he thus contradicting M. Dutens directly as to the main point, the point of vision, "quæ ambo per proximas valles rectâ Taurinum deducunt." P. 220.

^q Keyßer i. 174.

^r Bourrit lii. 267. "Arrivés à St. Remy,—bientôt nous atteignons la région des nuages." See the next section for the miles,

pass, as he was equally above the clouds in both places; and on whose receptive mind, as on the sheet in the *Camera Obscura*, all the moving pictures in nature exhibited themselves, not inverted, not altered, but in their native position, and with their original vivacity. "Italy engaged our attention most strongly," he says, "from the croud of mountains with which the horizon was filled," and which could have appeared through the clouds, only like so many islands emerging from the waste of waters: "the eye could not count them; they were even sinking away," like islands vanishing from view in the rotundity of the ocean, "to the distance of fifty leagues; and the tints upon them were fading off according to their gradation" of distance, "from the most vivid to the most faint: but the picture" even of these high prominences among the clouds, these islands amid the waste, "was often veiled over to us by the clouds, that rose from the bottom of the plains; these resembled the smoke of a country on fire; some flew in platoons, others advanced in line of battle, all the atmosphere was alive, and the clouds might be said to act under the direction of some chief, who presided over their rapid march." And, if this be the only perspective

* Bourrit iii. 277. "L'Italie, où nous portâmes nos regards, les attachâ plus fortement, par la foule de montagnes dont cet horizon étoit rempli; l'œil ne peut les compter; on les voit s'abaisser à la distance de cinquante lieues; et leur teinte suivre

perspective that nature lays before the eye in the very height of summer, what must it have been in the foggy extremity of Autumn? What but clouds rolling over clouds, dashing like so many billows against each other, breaking on the lower sides of the mountain, and presenting nothing to the eyes of Hannibal and his soldiery, but a seeming ocean of agitated waters, that had drowned the whole world below?

Let me add however, what precludes all possibility of interference, in Col de Fenestrelles or any hill near it, in the Cottian Alps or in the Graian, with the pretensions of the Pennine. The *western* Alps look only across the *breadth* of Italy, and can profess to show only the *north* of it, from the source to the mouth of the Po. But the *northern* allow the eye or the fancy, and such are often the same in bold ranges of geographical vision, to sweep all down the *length* of this singular peninsula, from the mountains at the head to the sea at the foot of it. From Col de Fenestrelles therefore, from any hill near it, from any part of the Cottian or the Graian, could *not* Hanni-

“ leur gradation, de la plus forte à la plus transparente. Mais
 “ ces tableaux nous furent bientôt voilés par des nuages, qui
 “ s’élevèrent du fond des plaines. Ils ressembloient à la fumée
 “ d’un pays embrasé; les uns voloient en pelitons, d’autres
 “ s’avançoient en ordre de bataille; tout l’atmosphère étoit
 “ animé, et l’auroit dit, que ces nuages suivoient l’ordre d’un
 “ chef, qui présidoit à leur marche rapide.”

bal,

bal, or any man in his senses, PRETEND TO SHOW THE SITE OF ROME. But Hannibal or any one might, from the Pennine. To the Pennine, have all the successive parts of the narration led us before; our account, like the globe, being formed not of a single atom, or of a few atoms accidentally jumbled together, but of a vast number, all united in agreement of parts with parts, all compacting and confirming each other, and all combining to make one regular, solid world of history.

From the top of Great St. Bernard then, and from the south-westerly projection over Italy there, did Hannibal, with the Gallick ambassadors at his side probably, point out to his soldiers through the clouds immediately under their feet, the plains of the Po at the base of the hills; and remind them, of the complete friendliness of the Gallick inhabitants towards them. He then pointed out to them even the very position of Rome itself, at the distance of four hundred miles, and in some bright ray perhaps issuing from a very distant cloud. They had already, he said, "scaled the walls of Italy, and even of Rome
 " too; all the rest of their expedition would be a
 " level and downhill march; and one battle, or at
 " most two, would throw the citadel and capital of
 " Italy into their hands." This artful address to

¹ Livy xxi. 38. "Mœniaque eos tum transcendere, non Italiæ modò, sed etiam urbis Romanæ; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum altero prælio, arcem et caput Italiæ in manu ac potestate habituros."

them derived its principal power, from the scene directly under their eyes, either in reality or in fancy. They beheld Italy, as it were, beneath their feet. They caught an imaginary glimpse of Rome itself. They derived a fire from the prospect. All was wonderful about them, and conspired to give the congenial sublimity of wonder to their minds. Their fancies kindled, their hearts warmed, their countenances brightened, and they went down the descent in raised spirits^u.

^u Polybius iii. 54. *Ἐπὶ πόσῳι εὐθαρσίῃσι ποιοῖσι τῆς ἀνδρείας.* "They were in some degree recovered from their fears" (i. 362); a mode of expression very different from Polybius's, who speaks not negatively but positively, and says Hannibal thus made them "in some degree animated." Livy xxi. 35. "Procedere inde agmen cæpit." Livy gives no noticed efficacy to this famous speech, but Polybius does.

In order to justify a clause or two in my text a few passages preceding, I must here notice at some length one circumstance concerning the Alps, that is constantly mis-understood. "The inhabitants of mount Cenis and the neighbouring mountains," says Keyser, "are called *Marrons* or *Marronniers*. But there is not any certainty, of the origin of that name. Some derive it from a crew of pyratrical *Moors*, who, in the reign of the emperor Leo the philosopher, being shipwrecked upon the coast of Provence, betook themselves to the Alps," the Maritime therefore of course, greatly to the south of mount Genève, and more greatly to the south of mount Cenis, "where they lived by robbing. The valley of *Maurienne*," which is far from the Maritime Alps and near mount Cenis, "is said to have been their chief haunt, and from thence to have taken its name. At last they disappeared, and by degrees left their savage way of living. This throws a light upon what the maps of this country call, *La descente des Marronniers*, i. e. the Marrons landing" (i. 234). This is a strange account, full of false geography, clogged with

plain contradictions, and telling a tale without beginning, middle, or end, in probable or real authenticity. The whole indeed is founded on a gross mistake. *Marron* or *Marronnier* is actually the general, the native, the appropriate title, of *all the Alpine inhabitants*; those "*agrestes prævii*," as Marcellinus calls them, who were used as guides over the Alps in his time (L. xv. c. 10. p. 108). We actually find them so called, not only about mount Cenis, but also at the distance of Great St. Bernard. "The trusty Alpine servant" of the convent, whom I have noted in my text, "as an Alpine," to have been "denominated a *Maronnier*;" is in Saussure iv. 238 "*un domestique de confiance, qui se nomme le Maronnier*." In the valley of Aosta too, on the Italian side of these Bernardine Alps, such as are afflicted by the epidemical malady of the Alps, are equally denominated *Marons* (Saussure iv. 171). Nor is the appellation a recent and a late one; whatever Keyssler may pretend in that sort of half-learning and half-ignorance, which is frequently questing for antiquarian truths among the vulgar, and almost always questing for them amid much confusion and much blindness. It is noticed even so early, as the year 750; when in the life of Odo abbot of Cluny we are told by John his biographer, that, on the return of the abbot from Italy in winter, he was conducted for hire over the snowy Alps by "*Marrones, genus quoddam hominum*." Odo himself, in his prior life of Gerald Earl of Orleans, notes the "*Marrunos, rigentes Alpium incolas*;" and says they often carried, at an expensive rate, the baggage of Gerald over the Alps, as he was on his way to Rome. Rodulph also, who writes the Acts of the abbots of Trudon and of himself, before the very early year 560; notices the "*Marones*" of the Alps, as "*viarum præmonstratores*" or "*Peregrinorum duces*;" and describes with particularity their caps, their gloves, their buskins, and their long spears (see a curious note in Marcellinus *ibid.*). But on what part of the Alps did these very early *Marrons* inhabit? Did *they* inhabit mount Cenis and its vicinity? Or did *they* inhabit the Maritime Alps, to give some colour to the landing of Moors upon the coast of Provence, and dispersing themselves among the Alps adjoining? All of them probably, and two of them certainly, dwelt about *Great St. Bernard*. The baggage of Gerald is said expressly to have been carried by these Alpine porters, "*per juga montis Jovini*" or over mount Joux. Equally are the mountaineers of Rodulph asserted, to have been

"Marones

"*Marones Montis Jovis*" (ibid.). The name has therefore been appropriated to the natives of the Alps, for more than *twelve hundred years*; and first became known to history as the title, not of the inhabitants of mount Cenis, not of the dwellers among the Maritime Alps, but of the natives of Great St. Bernard. So effectually is Keysser's *kitchen-tale* of etymology demolished! But, after all, what is the real import of a name, the origin of which is carried so very high? This it is difficult, and yet I think possible, to ascertain. The natives are called *Marrons* or *Marroniers*; and a range of hills is still denominated *Maurienne* or *Moriennne*. The name therefore was originally a national appellative; used by their neighbours, and acknowledged by themselves. It meant only the mountaineers; *Maur* and *Mor* in British signifying *Great*, thence standing for the *sea* in Welch, and for a *mountain* in Saxon; and the French still retaining the word in the popular dialect, among their provincials in France, and their colonists in the West-Indies, a word utterly unknown to their dictionaries, in *Morne* for a mountain, in *Morne* Tortueson, Gros *Morne*, and *Morne* Garnier of Martinico, *Morne* Rouge of Guadaloupe, &c.; just as our old *brandy-wine* is preserved still in the name of a river, within our American colonies. This gives a just and apposite meaning to the name at once, and the *Marrons* or *Marroniers* appear to have been only the mountaineers. But the meaning afterwards changed, from the robberies made by these highlanders upon their lowland neighbours; just as *brigant* has resolved itself for the same reason in the French language, into *brigand* a robber, *brigandage* a robbery, *brigantia* originally (as is plain from the analogy) a robbing vessel, now any vessel, and the English *brig*, a vessel rigged after a peculiar, perhaps a robbing, manner. Tradition, as we see from Keysser above, has preserved the memory of their "piratical" life, and of their "living by robberies" upon the Alps. The place in Provence too, that is marked in some "maps" I know not what, as "the descent of the Marroniers;" can only be the scene, of some plundering descent from the Alps. The French accordingly call a miscreant a *marane*, and a knave a *maraud*; and call going to plunder, "*aller à maraude*." Some of our own English sailors too, from the licentious practices of our justly boasted seaman Sir Francis Drake, I believe; and from the more licentious *buccannering* of some of Cromwell's Jamaica desperadoes, I fancy; used in a similar sense, but with a still greater appositeness to the present

present point, to talk with high glee of going a *marooning* on the Spanish main, to the very beginning of the present century. Even in so late a work as "a narrative of the dangers and distresses which befell Isaac Morris," &c. "of the Wager storeship," in Anson's voyage to the South-sea 1739; we find the author observing in p. 15 thus: "we could not help looking on it as the "greatest act of cruelty, thus to *maroon* us," by robbing them of their share of provisions in the schooner, and leaving them on a desolate coast. There are words in all languages, I suppose, that never entered into the composition of a dictionary, remain fugitive and evanescent in vulgar conversation or vulgar writing, and are only caught accidentally in either by the glancing eye of an etymologist.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

— I. —

HANNIBAL has now set off on his march from Great St. Bernard, towards the plains of the Po beneath him. But to what particular point in those plains, is he tending? He went, says Livy expressly, “into the country of the Taurini,” whose capital was TURIN; “a nation, the very next to the Gauls of the Alps, when he had descended into Italy^a.” This, he adds, “is agreed upon by all^b.” He therefore wonders at those, who bring him over the Great or the Little St. Bernard, because the road over either would have carried him, “not into the country of the Taurini, but through that of the mountaineer Salassi to the Libui Galli^c,” that is, would

^a Livy xxi. 38. “In Taurinos, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat, in Italiam digressio.”

^b Livy xxi. 38. “Id quum inter omnes constat.”

^c Livy xxi. 38. “Non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos montanos, ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent.”

have taken him to the left of his actual course, and turned him from the line to Turin by carrying him towards Vercelli. The neighbourhood of TURIN therefore, according to Livy and to all his authors, is the immediate object of Hannibal's arms at present. But what says Polybius to this? He seems to say something very different, as he brings Hannibal down from the Alps, into the country of the *Insubres*^d; who were even more to the left than the Salassi, and therefore *more* out of the line to Turin. Their capital was Milan^e; which, by the Roman routes that I have produced to my reader before, is forty-nine or fifty miles to the left even of Vercelli^f. How then are these seeming oppositions of authority, to be adjusted; and into what region of the Po did Hannibal actually come, immediately on his descent from the Alps? To ascertain this, I must go back a little in the course, and up the current, of the history.

We have already seen Livy, conducting the Bituriges of France over the Pennine Alps, making them the Insubres of Italy, and founding Milan by them. We have also seen Livy, carrying the Cenomanni of France equally over the Pennine

^d Polybius iii. 56.

^e Pliny iii. 17.

^f Ptolemy ii. 22. "Vercellas, Laumellum 26, Ticinum 22, Mediolanum 22;" and by a nearer way, "Vercellas, Novariam 16, Mediolanum 34," or (as in another Iter) "33."

Alps, and settling them to the *east* of Milan, on the sites of Brescia and Verona. Livy indeed says, that these Cenomanni seized the region belonging to the Libui^g; but this is one more of Livy's geographical mistakes. Both Pliny and Ptolemy concur to give the Libui a different position, and to fix them at Vercelli on the *west* of Milan^h. Even Livy himself concurs with them, in another placeⁱ. The truth is, that Livy in the former passage has confounded the Libui and the Cenomanni together, and made *those* the predecessors of *these*; when the Cenomanni dwelt about Verona and Brescia, to the *east* of Milan, and the Libui about Vercelli, to the *west*^k. We have also seen Livy bringing over the Salluvii of Marfeilles, and settling them "near that antient nation" the *Levi* Ligures, who inhabited about the river "Ticino^l." Livy thus fixes the Salluvii, where he had just fixed the Cenomanni before; so corrects the mistake, without knowing it; and adds a contradiction to the error, without being conscious of it. "Of the Ligures," notes Pliny, "the *Levi* and "Marici founded *Pavia*, not far from the Po^m."

^g Livy v. 35. "Locos tenuere Libui."

^h Pliny iii. 17, Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 71.

ⁱ Livy xxi. 38. "Per montanos Salassos ad Libuos Gallos."

^k Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 71.

^l Livy v. 35. "Propé antiquam gentem Lævos Ligures, incolentes circa Ticinum amnem."

^m Pliny iii. 17. "Ex quibus [Liguribus] Levi et Marici "condidère Ticinum, non procul a Pado."

But "*Vercelli* belonged to the *Libyci*," Pliny also remarks, "and was built by the *Sallyi*." Cato affirms and Pliny denies, that the *Lybici* were *Ligures*°; but Cato is certainly right, these *Libyci*, *Libyi*, *Levi*, and *Lævi* (for the appellation is undoubtedly the same in all these variations) being expressly called *Ligures* by Livy above, being reduced by these *Sallyi* or *Salluvii*, and so giving them the name of *Libui Galli*°, with the towns of *Vercelli*, *Pavia*, and *Novara*°. We have finally seen Livy carrying the *Boii* and the *Lingones* over the Pennine Alps, and, as all the country between the Alps and the Po was already seized, wafting them over the Po on floats, and driving with them both the *Etrusci* and the *Umbri* out of the country. Retaining some little vacancies of land, as I have previously shown, which they first found to the north of the Po, about *Lodi* and about *Cremona*; they now spread along its southern bank, from *Placentia* to *Modena*°. In this disposition of the Gallick colonies, the *Boii* ranged along the Po to the *east*; had the *Cenomanni* and the *Insubres* ranging east and west, immediately on their *northern* frontier; and had the *Libui Galli* immediately on their *western*. But from that very spirit of restlessness, which had impelled these na-

° Pliny iii. 17. "Vercellæ Libycorum, ex Sallyi ortæ."

° Pliny iii. 17. "Libycorum —, non (ut Cato existimat) Ligurum."

° Livy xxi. 38.

° Pliny iii. 17, Livy v. 35.

° Livy xxi. 25.

tions to leave Gaul, to scale the mountains, and to break into the new world beyond; they were soon dissatisfied with what they had seized, and began to burst in upon the neighbouring regions. The Boii, we have already seen, did so at such an early period after their migration, as made Livy to consider their settlement on the north of the Po, a point of time either imperceptible to the historical eye, or unworthy of notice from the historical pen. Only about two hundred years too after the first irruption of the Insubres, and when even the Boii and the Senones were now come, we find them all united in warring upon their neighbours to the east. "Cornelius Nepos has recorded," we hear at second hand from Pliny, "that Melpum, a town distinguished for its opulence, was destroyed by the Insubres, Boii, and Senones, on the very day upon which Camillus took Veii." In the same spirit of restlessness, expanding and dilating the sphere of their residence, the Salluvii or Libui Galli had invaded the Taurini probably, "those descendants from the ancient stock of the Ligures," as Pliny calls them¹, and made themselves masters of Turin². These superinduced tribes had thus extended their dominions, before the

¹ Pliny iii. 17. "Melpum opulentia præcipuum,—ab Insubribus, Boiis, et Senonibus deletum esse eo die, quo Camillus Veios cepit, Nepos Cornelius tradidit."

² Pliny iii. 17. "Taurinorum, antiqua Ligurum stirpe." So Strabo iv. §12. Ταυρινοί, — Ἀργυυῆται εἰσὶν, καὶ ἄλλοι Λιγυεῖς.

³ See the Sequel.

days of Hannibal, before the prior reduction of them all by the Romans, from the source nearly to the mouth of the Po^w; and so formed a *cordon* of strength across the breadth of Italy, along the base of the Pennine Alps, that Hannibal might well indicate to his soldiers from the summit, as an object of high consequence to them.

The general character of a nation occasionally remains uniform and the same, through a course of ages; not from any influence of the climate, as the stupidity of those mechanical philosophers would suggest, who want to reduce sentiment to sensation, and sink spirit into matter; but from a cause historically philosophical, the identity of the nation continuing un-violated in the mass of the people, under all changes of appellation and all chances of revolution. This has been strikingly the case, I think, with the inhabitants of France. One predominant spirit of making conquests, appears to have always actuated the great body of them, with many intervals and under many variations, through the long course of two thousand years. *So early* do we see it stimulating the Gauls, to range and ravage and colonize half the

^w Pliny iii. 17. "Augusta Taurinorum —, inde navigabili "Pado;" Addison 432, "the Po is a fine river, even at Turin, "though within six miles off its source;" Misson i. 574, "one "might embark at Turin, and sail directly and safely to Venice." All shews the ancient Taurinum, to have been upon the site of the present Turin.

globe. They broke into Germany, they broke into Italy, they actually made their way into Greece, they actually cut themselves a passage into Asia. They settled in conquests, within all those countries. In Italy particularly, they were just the same as they had been in France, ambitious, hostile, and invasive. Not content with the ground of their first settlements, they rushed into the regions contiguous to it; and, in the very spirit of usurpation with which they had made their settlements, enlarged the bounds of them. We see it again operating powerfully about a century ago, in the same rage of making conquests upon Spain, upon Italy, upon Holland, upon Germany; to raise an empire, that should be superior to all the nations of Europe, in its refinements of science, of language, and of manners, while it was also to be the arbiter of their fates, by its energies in war, its skill in tactics, and its expertness in engineering. We now, at *this* moment, see it again exerting itself with power under a new government, in a new form, but to the old purpose; amidst school-boy learning and school-boy ignorance, that affect to *platonize* in politics and to *atticize* in legislation*, assuming to itself a profound knowledge in the fundamentals of both; by an acknowledged infraction of every treaty, by an avowed violation of every principle, by every reptile-trick of dishonesty, by every eagle-flight of flagitiousness, asserting a general sort of sovereignty

* Plato has been called Moses Atticizans.

over the nations around; breaking into Flanders, breaking into Germany, breaking into Savoy, and formally annexing all to their own country; even additionally declaring war against Rome, against Holland, against Britain, against Spain; and so struggling to fix its mad, murderous, atheistical republicanism, upon the rights, the property, the religion of half Europe^v.

But

✓ We all know the speech of the infamous Dupont, when he avowed himself an atheist to the National Convention; and when, instead of being kicked out of the assembly as a madman confessed or a villain acknowledged, a villain certain if he was not a madman, he was applauded by many. This was the first flash from the fires of the *lowest* deep, that gleamed across the iron features of those profligate wretches. But the flash has been succeeded by many others since, till the whole circuit of France has appeared horribly illuminated with the blue flames. We have seen the same Convention voting, in the summer of 1793, that in the new Constitution, which these *changelings* were then forming for the *third* time, *there should be no mention made of religion at all*, because religion is *no part of a civil compact*. Even amidst the childish parade of their national celebrities; amidst their annual successions of oaths all taken and all violated, to the first and to the second Constitutions; amidst the fraternal kisses given by the President of the Convention, to the *heroines of the 5th and 6th of October*, those heroines of hell, the savage, the Indian-like fish-women, who have been so justly held up to the execration of all mankind, by that provident and dignified friend to the constitution of his country, Mr. Burke; on the 30th of August 1793 the Convention, the Municipality of Paris, the Representatives of all the 36 Departments, assembled with the citizens of Paris on the ground of the Bastille; solemnly took water out of a well there, which in an impudent ridicule of Christianity (I suppose) they called the Fountain of Regeneration; made a Heathen libation with it, by sprinkling it on what they called the soil of liberty; and then, with all the spirit of some Heathen atheists of antiquity, did *not* adjourn, as even Heathen deists would have done, to
offer

But after Hannibal had begun his march for Italy, had crossed the Ebro in Spain, and was now at or near the Pyrenees; "all the intelligence which came
"into

offer up their devotions to GOD in his own temple, but there, on the soil of liberty, sung an hymn, *not* to the Jehovah of the Christians, *not* to the Jove of the Heathens, *not* even to the un-defined, unnamed, unknown God of Nature, but to—NATURE itself, to the self-created universe, to the brutish matter around them, hardly less religious or less rational than themselves. After such a sweeping incident as this; after such a national dance before all Europe, of fiends and satyrs united together, *these* playing their gambols of absurdity to men, and those

Hurling defiance tow'ards the vault of Heaven;

we need not dwell on any lesser facts. Yet, to settle the point for ever, let me mention a few more, one of which refers principally, but the others entirely, to the great mass of republicans in France, and are to the everlasting infamy of French republicanism. On Sunday the 25th of August 1793, a deputation of instruction (as it was called) coming to the bar of the Convention, one of the CHILDREN who accompanied it, was put to address this believed assembly of atheists; and requested that children should be no longer preached to, in the name of—what thinkest thou, O reader?—of kings or of priests?—of men or of angels?—no! of—can a *christian* conceive it possible for a *child*, for a *man*, to have spoken the words?—of THE SELF-STYLED GOD, "soi-disant Dieu," as I believe the words were, Him who calls himself God, Him who pretends to be what he is not, God. Even this assembly of atheists, who had acknowledged their atheism, and the atheism of their adherents, so publicly, so formally a few days before; were disgusted at its diabolical appearance, when it was thus reflected back to them from the face of a child, and received the speech with indignation. On the 7th of October 1793, the Committee of Vigilance (as a knot of *vulgar despots* is called) within the department of Paris, in the new phraseology which these fantastical innovators have introduced, *denounced* to the council of the Commons at Paris, the judges of a tribunal of commerce for a

“into Italy,” says Livy, “was what some embassadours
 “from Marseilles brought to Rome, and was only
 “that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro; yet, just as
 “if he had already crossed the Alps, the Boii broke
 “out into rebellion, having first solicited the In-

crime; not against commerce, not against property, not against government, but against the liberties of man in conspiracy with GOD; for *causing prayers to be made before them by a clergyman, every Wednesday*. Struck with the *apparent* scandalousness of this conduct in the tribunal, the committee *demand* (such is the adopted style of *civism* and *in-subordination*!) the displacement of the judges, and the substitution of others in their room, who would be genuine *sans-culottes*, and not—*want to be enlightened by the invocation of the Divinity*. On the 21st of the *same* month, the *Procureur-Syndic* of the district of Tonnere informed the Convention by letter, that several *communes* of this district had resolved, to have *neither masses, vespers, nor other prayers hereafter, to abolish Sunday as a day of religious exercise for ever, and to substitute for it as a day of rest every tenth day*. These are horrible burles of impiety indeed; yet even these will probably be superseded soon, by others more horrible still.

That of an hour's age doth hiss the speaker;

Each minute seems a new one.

I go therefore at once to another fact, that is little known at present, and shall form my closing proof of the general, the pervading atheism of the French republic. A number of French being confined in June 1793 within the prison of Tregellick near Falmouth, and employing the Sunday in the same strain of profanation with the Convention itself, *this* in holding their sessions, and *those* in washing their linen; the commissary remonstrated with them on their conduct, as offensive both to GOD and man. But *they all replied with one voice*, that they would still persist in doing so, for—they FEARED NEITHER GOD NOR MAN. Such are the pigmy-giants of republicanism in France.

Who dare defy th' Omnipotent to arms!

SUBRES

“SUBRES to do the same².” But they had not merely solicited, they had actually induced them, to form a confederacy of rebellion with them. “The Infubres,” as Polybius informs us, “from a pre-conceived ill-will” against the Romans, “united in heart and mind with the Boii³.” One immediate object of their confederacy was, to send a joint embassy to Hannibal, to invite him into their country, and to conduct him over the Alps into it. Embassadors accordingly met him, at his passage across the Rhone; who came expressly from the Boii, and had a king with them that was assuredly an embassador from the Infubres. Hannibal, as Livy tells us, was dissuaded from engaging the Romans in Gaule, “by the arrival of embassadors from the Boii, and of a petty king called Magalus⁴.” All “these,” as Polybius says, “were petty kings” themselves, “headed by Magilus⁵.” Thus does the language of Polybius show the embassadors of the Boii, to have been in the same rank of royalty with Maga-

² Livy xxi. 25. “In Italiam interim nihil ultra, quàm Iberum transisse Hannibalem, a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat; quum, perinde ac si Alpes jam transisset, Boii, sollicitatis Infubribus, defecerunt.”

³ Polybius iii. 40. Παρακαλεσαντες δε της Ισομβρας, και συμφορησαντες [συμφορησαντας] καλα την προγεννημενην οργην.

⁴ Livy xxi. 29. “Avertit a præsentì certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus.”

⁵ Polybius iii. 44. Της βασιλίσκης της περι Μαγίλου. “Magilus, a petty king” (i. 344), as if there was only one, though the clause shows there were several.

lus; and yet Magalus to have been, at the head of the embassy. These, adds Polybius, "came to Hannibal from the plains upon the Po^d." The Carthaginian, to improve the incident to the best advantage, and to impress the sense of it lively on the spirits of his soldiers, drew up his army in form; to see, to receive, and to hear them. A publick parade in admitting such embassadours to an audience, would ordinarily be the mark of a little mind, pleased with its own significance, and viewing itself with complacency in the glass of its own vanity. But the parade here answered an important purpose, on an expedition so bold, so grand, so novel, as this appears even to us, who are geographically familiar with the whole range of the march; and as it must have much more appeared to the antients, with whom the notices of geography were greatly confined, and to the soldiers of the antients, with whom these narrow notices must have been still narrower. To introduce such embassadours before the eyes of his soldiery, and to let his soldiery hear their address to him; was to take off greatly the seeming wildness and eccentricity of his proposed march, to familiarize the Alps to their minds, and to make them think of the Alps only as they had thought of the Pyrenees before. The embassadours accordingly made their address to him by an interpreter, in the audience of all his

^d Polybius iii. 44. *Ἦσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίων.*
 "Who had come to him from the country near the Po" (i. 344),
 from the plains upon it.

army^c. They advised him in the name of their respective states, as we have previously seen, to decline all engagement with the Romans before he had entered Italy; they offered, as we have equally seen, to conduct him into it; and they additionally assured him of the readiness of all their states there, to join him with their forces, and co-operate with him in the war. These overtures considerably animated the whole army. The soldiers saw embassadors before them, who invited them into Italy in the name of their respective states; and offered to conduct them by a way, which they knew to be safe and short. They should find Italy, they assured them, a country large and fruitful; the Gallick inhabitants of it full of friendliness toward them, ready to supply them

* Polybius iii. 44. Δι' ερμηνείας τα διδογμένα παρ' αὐτῶν δις αὖτις τοῖς οὐλοῖς. "He introduced among them Magilus, a petty king, who had come to him from the country near the Po, and who now, by the help of an interpreter, informed the assembly of all the resolutions which the Gauls had taken in their favour" (i. 344). Mr. Hampton has here made an egregious blunder, and given to Magilus what belongs to Hannibal. The *latter*, not the *former*, "by an interpreter informs," not "the assembly," but τοῖς οὐλοῖς or the soldiery. In the *Latin* indeed the point is obscure: "regulum Magilum producit, qui e Circumpadanis campis ad eum accefferat; et per interpretem, quæ decreta fuerant a Gallis, multitudini declarat." But in the Greek it is very clear: Εἰσηγάγε τὴν βασιλικὴν τὴν περὶ Μαγίλου, ΟΥΤΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΠΡΟΣ Αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν περὶ τοὺς Πάδοι πεδίων. Those actors are in the *plural* number, and the next actor is in the *singular*, καὶ δι' ερμηνείας τα διδογμένα παρ' αὐτῶν δις αὖτις τοῖς οὐλοῖς. Hannibal had Magalus's offers repeated to him by an interpreter, and then rehearsed them himself to the soldiery.

with all sorts of provisions, and eager to share their battles with them against the Romans^f.

But these Gauls of Italy had turned their arms upon each other, before the arrival of Hannibal in Gaule. Thus the Insubres, the first of the Gauls who came into the country, attacked the Salluvii or (as they were now called) the Libui Galli; and reduced them together with the Taurini, whom *they* had reduced before. Yet on the Roman invasion probably of the Insubrian territories, and just before the war of Hannibal, the Taurini had seized the golden opportunity of retrieving their independency, and made a general insurrection against the Insubres. This is intimated by Polybius, when he says of the Taurini; that, at Hannibal's arrival among them, they were "in a state of insurrection against the "Insubres^g." This is again intimated by Polybius, when he asserts Hannibal, immediately on his descent from the Alps, to have "come down—to the plains "upon the Po, and the nation of the Insubres^h." The dominions of the Taurini had been previously made by conquest, the possessions of the Insubres;

^f Polybius iii. 44.

^g Polybius iii. 60. Τῶν Ταυρινῶν σασιαζομένων πρὸς τὴν Ἰστροῦν. "The Taurinians, who—were at this time engaged in war with "the Insubrians" (i. 371), σασιαζομένων, engaged in seditious war, engaged in an insurrection. Some eyes cannot distinguish colours, and some minds cannot discriminate ideas.

^h Polybius iii. 56. Καὶ πρὸς—αὐτὸς πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰνδοῦ πεδίοις, καὶ τοῖς Ἰστροῦν ἔθνεσιν,

and the Taurini had just now thrown off the yoke, which had been forced upon their necks. On *that* conquest, Magalus had been made the Insubrian king of the Taurini; and, on *this* revolt, had been driven by the Taurini out of the country. He had *therefore* been sent by the Insubres, at the head of the kings of the Boii, in a solemn embassy to Hannibal from both; they two having *now* subdued all the other Gauls; thus forming the whole chain of Gallick nations, from the source nearly to the mouth of the Po; and being for that reason said in the strictest propriety, to have sent their embassadours from the plains along the Po. The Boii also are reported by Cato, as Pliny informs us, to have consisted of a hundred and twelve tribes¹; and were therefore divided into a number of little kingdoms. We accordingly see *several* of their kings sent with Magalus, as embassadours with him and under him to Hannibal. They were all to invite Hannibal into Italy, to the

¹ Pliny iii. 15. "Boii, quorum tribus cxii fuisse autor est "Cato." This nation, says Pliny, "interierunt." The Romans, as Strabo tells us, "expelled them from the country; and they, "migrating to a region upon the Danube, dwelt with the Taurisci, warring against the Dacæ; till they perished universally, "and left their country, being a part of Illyricum and a pasture "of flocks, to their neighbours" (v. 326). Such was the fate of even a whole nation, in the times of antiquity. Or, rather, such is the loose way in which ancient historians extinguish whole nations; the Boii surviving for ages afterwards, and even to this day surviving, in Boiouraria or Bavaria, and in Boichemia or Bohemia!

assistance of the Insubres and the Boii, and to the reinstatement of Magalus on the throne of the Taurini. But Magalus, who was at once the chief of the embassadours and the principal of the guides to Hannibal, would be sure to carry him first to the object, which easily presented itself to his arms on his descent from the Alps, and which peculiarly concerned the interest of Magalus himself; the reduction of his own revolted Taurini. And, what serves to complete the round of rays which I have derived from various quarters, and to throw the full lustre of historical light upon a point hitherto lost in obscurity; Marcellinus informs us in express terms, that Hannibal, who was certainly under the guidance of Magalus, was actually "guided by—TAURINI^k."

— II. —

HANNIBAL had now surmounted a vast variety of difficulties, in the execution of his grand project; and was hastening to make Italy itself, the theater of war. He was preparing, to rouse all the warlike nations within the bosom of it, from that state of submission into which they were beginning to settle under the Romans, and to renewed acts of resolute hostility against them. The fire of their fathers still

^k Marcellinus xv. 10, p. 109. "Taurinis ducentibus accolis."

burned

burned strongly in the breasts, of the Gauls to the north and of the Samnites to the south. It wanted only the hand of a Hannibal, to fan it into a flame; and Hannibal is approaching to fan it. He is on the crest of the Alps overlooking their country. He is now beginning to descend from them. His vanguard of cavalry and elephants has entered upon the march, already. His baggage is following close behind. Then he himself sets off, at the head of his main body. And Rome shakes with apprehension for the consequences, through all the extent of her new dominions.

The road, on which Hannibal had marched up the Alps, lies all (as I have observed before) upon the bank of the Drance, and consequently along a natural hollow of the hills. This therefore up to St. Branchier is actually called at this day, THE VALLEY OF MARTIGNY. But, from St. Branchier to the summit of St. Bernard, it is called THE VALE OF ST. PETER'S and VALLEE D'ENTREMONT or that of the Intermontane Region. It then runs down to the bottom on the other side, on what is equally the bank of a current, in what is equally denominated a valley, and called THE PELINE for the Pennine VALE¹.

The

¹ Simler 81, "Altera vallis Intremontiorum a Pennino monte Branscheriam usque porrigitur——; pagum—S. Petri Burgum appellant, ab eo vallis nomen accipit." Simler 247.
 "Vallis,—quæ ab Augustâ Prætoriâ ad Penninum ducit, Vallis
 "Pelinna

The last part of its course is thus described, by the Itinerary of Antoninus and the Tables of Peutinger. The former is very short, gives us only one stage, and presents us only with two names, the position of which I thus invert; "Summum Peninum," Great St. Bernard, "Augustam Prætoriam m. p. "xxv," Aosta^m." The latter are more full, and exhibit an intermediate stage thus; "In Summo "Pennino, EUDRACINUM xxv, Augusta Præ-
"toria xxviiiⁿ." But the measures in both are apparently wrong; *this* in the Tables is most extravagantly so, and *that* in the Itinerary is a little so. The milliary column, which I have noticed before, enables us by its inscription to correct both. The southern descent from the hills, cannot be more than the northern ascent to them; and indeed, for a reason that will appear immediately, must be rather less. Yet the ascent is merely twenty-five miles, both in the Itinerary and in the Tables. The descent therefore can be no more, and in fact is marked as twenty *four* only; the last line upon the milliary pillar being,

F. C. VAL. XXIII.

Nor has Hannibal more to march, from the farthest point of the passage to the site of Aosta below, than about *three* and twenty Roman miles; that point be-

"Pelinna ab ipsis nominatur." Saussure iv. 287. "Au confluent de trois vallées, celle d'Entremont,—celle de Bagnes, et celle de Martigny."

^m Bertius 22.

ⁿ Second Segment.

ing about one mile, I believe, to the south-west of the convent or town.

He thus began his descent. Nor was he molested by any parties of the Salassi. The grand defeat of their villany before; and the subsequent flight of their plundering parties, wherever his elephants advanced; had broken all their spirits, either for insidious or for marauding war. He had only to encounter the common incidents of an Alpine expedition at that period, the petty and secret pillages, made by some of the mountain-robbers occasionally on his baggage^d. But he was much incommoded by the badness of the road, and by the snow upon the ground. He was indeed so much incommoded by both, that he lost not in the descent many short of the number, which he had lost in the ascent before^e.

The road in fact was much more difficult to be descended, than it had been to be ascended^f. This however seems a very surprising phænomenon of geography, on a hasty consideration of the subject.

^d Polybius iii. 54. *Εν τῇ [καταβάσει] πολεμίοις μὲν οὐκ ἦν περιέλυσσι, πλὴν τῶν λαθρὰ κακοποιούντων.* Livy xxi. 35. "Nihil ne hostibus quidem, præter parva furta per occasionem, tentantibus."

^e Polybius iii. 54. *Τὸ δὲ τῶν τοπων καὶ τῆς χιόρος, ὃ πολλὰ λιποπόλας ἀπέβαλε τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀντάσιν φθαρμένων.*

^f Livy xxi. 35. "Iter multò, quàm in ascensu fuerat,—difficilius fuit."

But the best of physical reasons may be assigned for it, in the singular formation of the Alps. These “are generally,” says Livy himself, “shorter in their sides, and so steeper in their course, towards Italy^s.” “Of the Alps,” adds Strabo, “which are mountains very high, and forming a line of circumflex; the “*curved*” or *convex* “part is turned towards the “*plains of the Gauls*” on the north, “and to the “mountains of Cevennes” on the west, “but the “*bollow* towards Liguria and Italy^h.” Or, as Strabo repeats in another place, “we may speak in this “particular manner, that the *basis* of the Alps is *circu-* “*lar* and hollow, having the *concave* side facing “towards Italy; but the *middle* of the *bollow* is to- “wards the Salassi” of Italy; “and the *extremities* “take a turn, one as far as the head and heart of the “Adriatick, and the other towards the coast of Li- “guria as far as Genoa, the emporium of the Li- “guriens. These hills, notes Marcellinus concern- ing those of *Mount Genève*, “are to the passengers “*from Gaule* declining with a prone humility, but *ter-*

^s Livy xxi. 35. “Pleraque Alpium ab Italiâ, sicut breviora, “ita arctiora, sunt.”

^h Strabo iv. 290. Τῶν δὲ Ἀλπεῶν, α ἑστὶν ὁρὴ σφοδρὰ ὑψηλὰ, περι-
φερὴ ποιεῖται γραμμῇ, τὸ μὲν κύριον ἐστραπτὰ πρὸς τὰ—τῶν χιλλῶν πε-
διά, καὶ το χιμμεῖος ὄρος· τὸ δὲ κοῖλον πρὸς τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

ⁱ Strabo v. 323. Κατὰ μέρος δ’ ἕως εἰπεῖν δύναται, εἰ τῶν μὲν
Ἀλπεῶν περιφερὴς ἡ ὑψηλότης ἐστὶ καὶ κολπυδής, τὰ κοῖλα εἶχοντα ἐστραμ-
μὲνα πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν· τὰ δὲ κοῖλα τὰ μὲν μίση, πρὸς τοὺς Σαλασσοὺς ἐστὶ,
τὰ δ’ αὖρα ἐπιστροφῇ λαμβάνει, τὰ μὲν μέχρι τῆς ἀκρᾶς καὶ τὴ μὲν χυ τὴ
κατὰ τὴν Ἀδρίαν, τὰ δ’ εἰς τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν παραλίας μέχρι Γενέας, τὰ
τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐμπορίων.

“*rible*

“*rible on the other side with the appearance of banging rocks*.” This observation is confirmed concerning the *western* Alps, by our modern travellers. “It is “remarkable,” Mr. Breval tells us, “that the snows “cause a great deal more mischief on the *Piemont*, “than they do on the *Savoy*, side of the Alps; by “reason, that *the steeper and more concave* part of “them faces *this way*’.” Mr. Gray also adds in regard to *Mount Cenis* particularly, with his usual vivacity of expression; that “the *descent* from Mount “Cenis is—*infinitely more steep*, than *the going up*.” And as we see this very road across the Pennine Alps to Italy, even three hundred years after Hannibal, still characterized by one of the antients for “a path- “way strait and difficult;” so we find it equally reported by a modern, to be at present a line of “pathways, rapid in their descent and fatiguing to “the traveller.” The road was thus leaning downwards to the Carthaginians almost all the march, in a headlong kind of descent towards Italy°. This rendered it slippery to the foot of the men, to the

* Marcellinus xv. 10. p. 108. “Est—e Galliis venientibus “*prona humilitate devexum, pendentium saxorum altrinsecus “visu terribile.*”

1 Breval's Second Travels i. 290.

m Mason 64.

n Appian's Illyr. p. 1203, Latin translation, the Greek original being lost, “*arcta semita, ac difficilis*,” Bourrit iii. 267.

“La route se convertit en sentiers rapides et fatigans.”

o Polybius iii. 54. Ουσης γὰρ—καλωφευς της καταβασης; Livy xxi. 35. “Omnis—ferme via—præcepta—erat.”

hoof of the cattle, and to the wheel of the cars^p. It was also narrow in itself, and bounded by a precipice at one side^q. To crown all, the plane of it was covered with a coat of snow, too thick not to conceal to the eye the immediate track in the middle of the road, and too thin to reduce this for the foot into an even level with the sides. The cattle and the men, therefore, could not see where they might tread with security. They frequently missed the track, and then could not save themselves from tripping against the sides. A very slight trip threw them off from their balance, at once; they tumbled down the precipices, and they rolled one upon another to the bottom^r.

^p Livy xxi. 35, "Omnis—serme via—lubrica erat."

^q Polybius iii. 54. Στενης; Livy xxi. 35. "Angusta:" and Polybius iii. 54. Καλα των κρημνων.

Polybius iii. 54. Της—χιονος αδηλον παισης εκατος την επιβαιν, παν το περιπεσον της οδου, και σφαλειν, εφερειο καλα των κρημνων. Livy xxi. 35. "Neque sullinere se a lapsu possent, nec qui paululum titubassent hæere afflicti vestigio suo; alii que super alios, et jumenta et homines, occiderent."

"The way was not only very steep and narrow," the descent was not only narrow and headlong, "but so entirely covered also by the snow, that the feet knew not where to tread with safety." This is the Latin translation, a little varied: "non dignoscante milite propter nivem, ubi pedem poneret." It, and its translation the English, are very wordy. The fair version is only this, "the snow concealing the path from every one." This is full enough for the meaning, and exactly responsive to Polybius's language. "And as often as they turned aside from the proper track," as often as they missed the track, and stumbled, "they were instantly carried down some precipice" (i. 362).

All serves to show, that Hannibal's road even *down* the Alps, was not what General Melvil has considered it to be throughout; the most primitive of all roads, the mere trough or channel of a river. A river indeed descends along the *southern* side of the Alps, as well as the northern; and originates equally from the top of Great St. Bernard. In that way had nature formed an avenue for man, up the Alps on *both* sides. But, as we have supposed *that* avenue to have been afterwards improved on the northern side, by being transferred from the bed to the bank; so we may now behold it actually improved and transferred, on *both*. We have already seen it, at the very entrance into the Alps; when the loaded cars and the burdened horses were thrown down the precipice of the road, and the road consequently ran as it runs at present, up an acclivity of the mountain, along the side of a precipice, and with the Drance foaming at the foot of it. We may now see it equally here, when cattle and men tumbled down the precipice of the road again, and rolled one upon another to the bottom. Thus transferred, we behold also the nature of the whole road very distinctly. It was not, as all our roads over mountains used to be, carried on in a sunken channel of earth and rock, directly or almost directly up and down the face of the mountain. No! It was more in the form of our modern roads, that are trained in traverses along the side of

a hill, guarded by the rise of the ground upon one hand, and having the fall of a precipice on the other; the great steepness of the hill suggesting and compelling this anticipation of modern art. Such is this very road of descent, at the present day; being generally drawn down the hills, in what appears to be a range of terraces with steep sides, to the eye below. It was merely a pathway along the side of the mountain, a sharply inclining plane of rock, slippery in itself, but worn and hollow in the middle, and rising roundly at the sides. The narrowness of the whole afforded little chance of recovery, to the mis-treading feet; and the frightful precipice was always ready at the edge, to receive the falling bodies into the gulph of destruction there. *All* the roads over the Alps, says Strabo, were even in *his* time like this; as "it was not possible" for Augustus himself "everywhere to force nature, by breaking through huge rocks and down vast precipices, some overhanging the road, others falling down from it, so that, even on a slight step out of the track, the danger was unavoidable, the fall being into bottomless hollows; and so narrow is the way in some part of it, as to give a giddiness to those who walk on foot along it, both to men and to beasts, if unused to it." So much more formidable does the road

¹ Bourrit iii. 259. "La route qui passe—sur des terraces escarpées."

² Strabo iv. 313. Οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν παύλας διασπασθαι τῆς φύσεως διακρίσεων καὶ κρημνῶν, ἐξαισίων, τῶν μὲν υπερκρημνῶν τῆς οδοῦ, τῶν δ' ὑπο-

road appear in this artificial state of it, than in its primitive and original condition of the trough of a river ! It appears indeed from this delineation so truly formidable, as almost to turn the head of the reader while he contemplates it. What then must it have been in the reality ? Yet the army bore it all, with a patient perseverance. They had seen such roads before, and had therefore encountered such dangers already^v.

— III. —

THEY thus proceeded down the Alps, till they reached once more the regions of vegetation. The

πληθύνων, ὥστε καὶ μικροὶ ἐκβάσιν, ἀφυκτὸν εἰπας τὸν κίνδυνον, εἰς φαρυγγὰς ἀβυσσοὺς τῷ πλωματίος ὄντος· εἶπε δὲ ἵσθι σίτη κατὰ τι αὐτῇ ἡ ὁδὸς, ὡς^v ἰδιωγὰς φεραὶν τοῖς πῆζι βαδίζουσι, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑποζυγίοις, ταῖς ἀηθίσιν.

^v Polybius iii. 54. Οὐ μὲν ἄλλα ταύτην μὲν ὑπεφειρον τῶν ταλαιπωρίων, ὅτε συνθεῖς οἷς; ἤδη τοῖς τοιούτοις κακοῖς. “Yet the soldiers, to whom such accidents were now become familiar, sustained all this *mifery* with an *amazing* firmness” (i. 362). He, who generally is *below* his author in vivacity, is *above* him here.

We have this picture of a *winter* journey, even in *more modern* times. “Schnaffaburgenfis, — commemorans quanto labore Henricus IV [the Emperor of Germany] Alpes hyeme superasse “ [dicitur],” when he went over this very hill of Great St. Bernard (Simler 132) ; “ scribit Reginam, et mulieres ex ejus gyneceæ, *bovm coriis impositas fuisse, quas itineris duces deorsum traherent* ; equos quoque *per machinas summissos, aut colligatis pedibus tractos, ex quibus multi mortui aut debilitati perierint*” (Simler 283). The historian thus takes advantage of his reader's ignorance, to fable about the Alps. But his injudiciousness defeats his falsehood, and gives the reader his fair revenge upon the author.

cold air of the summit gently softening *towards* warmth, as the road receded from the frozen pikes of snow there; plants began to peep out of the ground, bushes to shoot from the clefts of the rocks, and trees to raise their heads upon the hills. Nature thus began to throw off her stern, rugged looks of barren rock, and to cover her savage nakedness with a thin, scanty robe of verdure. From the bleak summit of the mountain to the warmer reign of vegetation, is reckoned by some to be a journey of *two* hours on *either* side of the mountains^a. It is in fact a journey of *two* on the *southern* side, but of *three* on the *northern*; or, to use a more popular standard of mensuration, the distance is *six* miles on *that*, and *nine* on *this*. Upon the road of ascent, the vegetation dies away about St. Peter's; and, on the road of descent, revives about SAINT-REMY again^b. So much livelier is the influence of the sun upon an opposing object, than upon a declining one! The road of descent runs nearly two miles and a half to Vacherie, all the way keeping at the foot of great rocks. The air is very cold along it, and the snow lay unmelted at Vacherie in 1774 as late as the 21st of July. But a slight and faint sort of vegetation commences there,

^a Martyn 20.

^b Bourrit iii. 267, travels this road *up* the hills to Great St. Bernard. "Arrivés à St. Remy," he says, "nous nous trouvâmes dans les lieux sauvages.—Bientôt—nous n'y voyions plus de bois." In iii. 286 he says of St. Peter's; thus, "ce fut là où nous vîmes les premières forêts."

as there we see what we look for in vain upon St. Bernard, some pastures, some cattle grazing upon them, and some huts for their tenders; while we see no huts at all on the north, before we have descended about six miles. Those huts, cattle, and pastures belong to a hospital at ST. REMY, about three miles and a half below, and *the first village* on the road at present. But before the road reaches it, on a high mountain upon the northern side of it, we see the gradual transition of Alpine vegetation into the production of trees. We first behold some pastures all naked of trees. We next come to trees scattered, small, and knotted. Nature still improves as the ground descends; the power of production strengthens; and, *just before we reach* St. Remy, we enter a large wood of larches, *good and perfect in their forms*, answering another wood of larches about three miles lower on the north. Hannibal therefore, whom we shall find to have actually come to a *wood*, must have now marched beyond the line of beginning vegetation, must have now reached the scenes of vegetation perfected, and have been in the very vicinity of St. Remy. On the *northern* side of the wood, the mountain is constantly white all over from the great balls of snow, that fall there in winter, and fall still more in spring. These render the road very dangerous, at such seasons; and no part of the Alps is more exposed than this, to the fall of snows and to the rage of winds. St. Remy indeed would be overwhelmed and buried by the snows, if it was not guarded

guarded by that Alpine barrier of security, which experience alone could have proved to be a security, the wood hanging immediately over it. The inhabitants of St. Remy, for that reason, preserve their wood with all the care, with which the Dutch preserve their dykes; as their only mound, against the ocean of snows from above. These snows continue upon the ground, at this part of the descent, during the whole summer. Hannibal therefore, who had *snows* to encounter even though he had reached the region of trees, must have been in the immediate descent to St. Remy, when he engaged with both^c.

At this point of the descent then, the Carthaginians met with a very singular incident, that damped all their spirits effectually. It was now about noon probably, when the cavalry suddenly made a grand halt in the leading part of the van. This of course was soon communicated backward, in a kind of elec-

^c Saussure iv. 224, 223, 222, 221—220, and 270; Bourrit iii. 267—268. M. Saussure iii. 224 asserts the road betwixt St. Bernard and St. Remy, to be *two leagues* in length; and the road from St. Bernard and St. Peter's on the other side, which he states in iii. 270 to be *two hours and a half*, that is, *ten miles* at the rate of *four to an hour*, as in Sketch 82, or *nine at three*, as in the text of page immediately preceding, M. Bourrit accordingly settles at *three leagues* (iii. 286). An *hour* therefore in travelling language, whatever the author of Sketch may say, means not *four miles*, but *three*. It is the same as a league. And it is of consequence to all traversers of countries, whether traversets in reality or by reading, to know the quantity of ground meant by this very common rule of mensuration upon the continent.

trical shock, through the elephants and through the baggage, to Hannibal at the head of the main body. Hannibal therefore sent a messenger forward, to enquire into the meaning of it. Intelligence was brought him back, that the horse *had come to a pass which was absolutely impracticable*. He instantly pushed by the sides of the baggage, the elephants, and the cavalry; advancing to the head of the whole army, in order to view the ground^d. There indeed a wonderful sight presented itself to his eyes. The plane of the road was sunk so perpendicularly and so deeply, that one of the light infantry, by carefully trying the descent, and holding with his hands the bushes and roots at the side, could hardly have let himself down into the hollow^e.

This obstruction therefore was not any thing similar to that, which it has been considered by General Melville to be. It was *not* "such a narrow path on the steep side of a loose and rocky hill, as is liable to be washed away by falling rains or melting snows, or even to be beat down by balls of snow." Hannibal has had no rains falling and

^d Livy xxi. 36. "Ibi quum—equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali quæ res moraretur agmen, nunciatur rupem inviam esse; digressus deinde ipse, ad locum visendum."

^e Livy xxi. 36. "Ægrè expeditus miles, tentabundus, manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes, demittere posset."

^f See Vol. i. Chap. ii, Sect. 1.

No snows melting, *sufficient to wash away his road.*

The snow actually lay on the ground here, at this moment; unmelted equally by the rains or by the sun. Nor had any balls of snow fallen upon the road, as this was neither buried in snow nor demolished by it. Even if they had fallen, even if melting snows and descending rains had combined their powers with them; neither any nor all could have affected the road in the very extraordinary manner, in which it was affected. THE HOLLOW WAY WAS ALL ONE BED OF ROCK. The *bottom* and the *sides* were rock, with roots and bushes hanging over the rock at the sides. Thus, as Livy tells us, "the Carthaginians came to a much narrower rock, having sides of stone so perpendicular, that" &c.[§] The whole course of the history, indeed, demonstrates the road to have been all a strong rock. We are therefore deluding our credulity grossly, by setting ourselves in full opposition to the narrative, and reducing this obstruction into the mere sliding of a road of earth down the side of a rocky hill^h. The fact was infinitely more important,

§ Livy xxi. 36. "Ventum deinde ad multò angustiores rupes, atque ita rectis saxis, ut" &c.

^h Simler, who was the first (I believe) that suggested this idea, in p. 212 has advanced another supposition along with this, and equally absurd. "Accidit autem sæpe in montanis itineribus," he says, "ubi propter præcipitem declivitatem rectà descendere non licet, ut viæ admodum angustæ montium lateribus quasi incisæ sunt: quod si pars superior montis labatur, viæ præcluditur; vel si pars ea montis quæ iter est in vallem subsidat, jam prop-

important, and a very astonishing one indeed. At this point, the road had been steep and headlong before¹; but had recently been made much more so, than ever. Through the whole range of the precipitous part of the road, which was near a thousand feet in length, it had been actually sunk into a narrow gulph of rock²! The very end, at which it had broke off from the road preceding, was left with such a deep and perpendicular face of solid stone; that (as I have previously observed) even one of Hannibal's light infantry could with difficulty have descended it, holding by the bushes and roots at the side. All this gives such a clear and strong view of this memorable interruption, as shows nothing but an earthquake could have produced it. An earthquake had broke down the steep descent, into a deep

"ter præcipitium nullus est locus itineri, nisi novum quoddam iter in montem excidatur. Ac ex Polybio videtur tale quid accidisse Hannibali." Both these suppositions are directly contrary to the narration. The road had *not* slided down into the valley, the hill had *not* slided down upon the road; for the road lay all before the eyes of the army, consisting of solid rock.

¹ Polybius iii. 54. Τῆς γῆς ἀπορρωγὸς καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἦσαν; "the ground, which was before *extremely steep and broken*" (i. 362), language too indefinite and diffuse, for what says only that the ground was previously *abrupt*; Livy xxi. 36. "Naturâ locus jam ante præceps."

² Polybius iii. 54. Τὸς δὲ καὶ μάλλον ἢ προσφάτως ἀπερρωγίαις; "had *again* very lately *fallen away*" (i. 362), words that convey no ideas at all, and ought to have been "had then and lately become even more abrupt;" and this was πρὶ τριακμηταδία τῆς γῆς. Livy xxi. 36. "Recenti lapsu terræ, in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat."

chasin.

chasm. An earthquake had broke it down, with such a subsidence in the plane of the road itself; as left the preceding parts of it to terminate all at once; in an even wall of stone, that was six or seven feet in perpendicular height, and therefore could not be descended without difficulty, even by a man on foot.

We can easily suppose, that earthquakes are not uncommon in this mountainous region of the Alps; as the cavities of mountains are the natural sphere of operations, to subterraneous winds. Accordingly in the road to mount Cenis from the west, as one of our travellers particularly observes, "some of the mountains" near St. Michael "are cleft and torn asunder, as if by earthquakes; a dreadful darkness con-

I Justice and gratitude require me to observe here, in order to assert the violated credit of an author, who is uncommonly useful in this period of the history; that the editors or the manuscripts of Livy have certainly adopted a language in one point, improper for the idea or the fact, and contrary to the original language of Livy. They make the chasm a thousand feet *deep*, when Polybius makes it three half-stadia (not, as Casaubon renders the passage, "in pedes ferè centum nonaginta," but, as Pliny ii. 23 decisively shows 937½ feet) *long*; he and Livy keeping very naturally to round numbers. But that it was so many feet *deep*, is actually denied by Livy himself; when he says one of the light infantry could have descended into it, perpendicular as the rock was, if he held by the roots and bushes at the side. And the general coincidence of the two measures in Livy and Polybius, concurs with the omission of the *length* in Livy, to show us plainly; that Livy's manuscripts or editors have injured his text violently, and that their *altitudinem* should be replaced by his *longitudinem* again.

"cealing the inmost recesses of these caverns^m." We have even an earthquake, very similar to that at St. Remy in its circumstances, and happening in the neighbouring passage of the Simplon. At Brigue there, so late as the year of the Lisbon earthquake, and on the 9th of December, an earthquake took place, "the mountains staggered upon their foundations, all the valley waved from south to north, the roofs of the houses were lifted up, the tiles were carried into the air and dashed against each other, THE ROADS SUBSIDEDⁿ." The earthquake near St. Remy, however, must have happened *since* Magalus and his brethren had come the same way before, on their journey to meet Hannibal in Gaule. Magalus and they would certainly be with the most advanced part of the army, as guides to them and the whole. Yet they and he marched up to this breach in nature, looked down into it with amazement, and stood still under an utter inability to go on. "The horse halted," says Livy, "as if they were at the final-termination of the road^o;" and "sent word to Hannibal, that the rock was no longer passable^p." This shows the astonishment of the guides

^m Mrs. Miller i. 54.

ⁿ Bourrig i. 217. "L'on vit les montagnes vaciller sur leurs fondemens, et toute la vallée se mouvoir du midi au nord; les toits des maisons furent enlevés, les tuiles portées dans l'air s'entrebrécèrent, les cheminées s'abattirent."

^o Livy xxi. 36. "Quum, velut ad finem viæ, equites constiterunt."

^p Livy xxi. 36. "Nunciatur rupem esse inviam."

and cavalry, at the sight of the formidable gulph. The road had therefore been reduced to its present state of impracticability, by some awful convulsion of nature; since the guides were here. Accordingly Polybius unites with Livy and this reasoning, by saying expressly that the chasm had been recently formed^a:

On meeting this unexpected and formidable barrier to their career of march, the spirits of the army instantly fell. They were, in their own imaginations, upon a new course of military experiments. They had not the experience of others, to confirm them; they had only their own fund of courage, to support them. The Gauls of France indeed had repeatedly marched across these mountains, and in the very direction which they themselves were now pursuing. Even Hannibal, at his passage across the Rhone, had actually appealed to those marches, as encouraging examples to them. Yet these incidents were not familiarized to their minds, by frequent recurrence to them in reading or in conversing about them. They had heard of them, and were encouraged; but forgot them, in the first moments of distress. When the mind takes a firm hold upon past events, and, by a happy kind of chemistry in the imagination, transmutes them into present incidents;

^a Polybius iii. 54. Προσφατος ἀναρρηγυσιας; Livy xxi. 36. "Recenti lapsu terræ."

then

then the energy of their influence is great. Yet this is seldom the case even with scholars, even with those who seem to be happily sequestered from the common occupations of life, in order to attend to the operations of man in past ages. Little therefore can it be expected to be so, with the great multitude of mankind in general, with that un-lettered and un-thinking mass of men in particular, which forms the common soldiery of all armies. With such men, a past incident will carry small weight in opposition to present experience. The Carthaginians indeed had been also encouraged, by the sight of the embassadours from Italy before them, by their promises of succour there, and by their assurances of safely conducting them thither. But they were equally discouraged now, when they found those assurances terminate in this impassable gulph, and beheld the embassadours themselves looking with an eye of wild surprise upon it. In this new world of warfare to them, they were liable to be raised or depressed by any sudden emergency of fortune. Their spirits had been raised at Orzieres undoubtedly, with the expectation of a smooth and speedy passage into Italy; had been depressed at Luttier, in beholding their expectation baffled, on seeing themselves obliged to regain their old road, and on finding their march over the mountains and by the Glacieres, so cold, so perplexed, so long; had again been raised on recovering the road at St. Peter's, on gaining the summit of St. Bernard, and on receiving the horses, the men, left

behind at St. Branchier; but had again been depressed by the fall of snow, had again been raised by the address of Hannibal, and were now depressed greatly again. This tissue of adventures operated upon their minds, just as the variations of our atmosphere operate upon the weather-glass; and produced a quick alternacy of clouds and sunshine, in their shifting spirits. But their minds now settled down into an universal despondency, at the sight or at the hearing of this tremendous chasm^r.

Yet Hannibal, however startled at the sight, was not confounded by it. He was still master of himself, under the pressure of this extraordinary distress. He could look at the breach without terror, and examine the ground at the sides without perturbation. Amidst all the clamours of despondency and despair, so natural to the common spirits of an army, with such a spectacle before them; he could calmly meditate how he should surmount an obstruction, which was seemingly thrown in his way by the hand of Providence itself. He instantly saw, as he thought, that he could carry his army along the untracked and falling ground upon one side, and so bring it by a long circuit back into the road below. The road was then lined, as it is at this day, by the rise of the mountain on his *left*, and by the fall of the mountain

^r Polybius iii. 54. *Εἰλαυθα παλιτάθυμτοι καὶ διαφασσιναι σιγῇ το πλεον;*

on his *right*. The road itself is formed in the rock of the mountain, is therefore narrow, but goes obliquely down the somewhat rapid descent of the mountain, and ends in an opening very strait upon St. Remy*. Hannibal accordingly ordered his army, to wheel round a little on the right, to descend the falling side of the mountain in a general line with the road, and to regain the road below the chasm'.

Hannibal was sanguine, as to the success of this movement". But there was a much greater difficulty in the execution, than he had apprehended. Vigourous minds conceive a bold project, at a glance of thought; but nature does not bend to the vigour of projection. The rapid eye darts across a distant view, at once; but the foot, that is to walk over it afterwards, finds many a valley to be painfully crossed ~~and~~ many a hill to be painfully ascended, which were undistinguished in the general view; and stops short in the journey perhaps, incapable of finishing it. At this time there lay upon the ground, the snow that

* Sauffure iv. 222. " Audelà de ce bois, la montagne à notre droite," as he comes up these Alps, " que nous *montons* obliquement par une pente peu rapide" &c. " Le *sentier* que l'on suit, est tracé—sur une roche." P. 220. " St. Remy,—situé au fond d'une gorge tres-etroite, à l'entrée d'une forêt de mélèzes, qui s'élève au-dessus de lui."

† Polybius iii. 54. Το μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπεὶ ἀπέλειπε τὰς δυσχωρίας. Livy xxi. 36. " Per in via circà nec trita antea, quamvis longo ambitu, circumduceret agmen."

• Livy xxi. 36. " Haud dubia res visa."

had lately fallen. This had accumulated here upon the mountain, under the protection of the wood on the south, to a greater depth than had been found before, yet not to a depth very great *. Over this the cavalry and elephants began to march, the men of both having previously dismounted. The snow was soft enough to take the impression of their feet, and deep enough to give a steadiness to their footing. They therefore moved upon it with ease x. Even the provision-cars began to enter on it y. But, under this coat of new snow, lay another of old, collected there during the last winter; secured from the beams of the sun and the warmth of the air during summer, by the abovementioned protection of the wood; and now continuing covered over with one firm crust of ice, from the frosts of winter z. The men, the elephants,

* Livy xxi. 36. "Quum [nix] — nova modicæ altitudinis "esset," and "nec præaltæ nivi."

x Polybius iii. 55. Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιπλεῖς [χιονος] πεπλωκυίας, ταύτην μὲν ἰσθιακοὶ τινες συνεβαίνει, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς φέρον εἶναι, σπαλὴν ὑπαρχεῖν, καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν βάθος ἔχειν. Livy xxi. 36. "Molli nec præaltæ "nivi facile pedes ingredientium insitebant," and "hominum ju- "mentorūque."

y Polybius iii. 55. τὰ δ' ὑποζυγία.

z Polybius iii. 55. Ἐπὶ—τὴν προϋπαρχούσαν χιονα, καὶ διαμειρη-
κυῖαν ἐκ τῆς προτέρης χιμῶνος; and this he calls συνεσκηκυῖαν. Livy
xxi. 36. "Veterem nivem intactam," and "nudam infrà gla-
"ciem." In the war of 1734 "le Comte de Lautrec rencon-
"tra [les embarras] dans le mois de Juin, aux Granges-aux-
"Ruissons, près du Col de Vars," on the Cottian Alps. "On y
"distinguoit très-clairement ces neiges anciennes, qui s'accumu-
"lent tous les ans, sans qu'on conçoive encore, comment elles ne
"basseient

phants, and the horses, however, had already reduced the upper coat of snow by their trampling, into a mere mass of fluid filth. Then the cars and their drivers, advancing before the burden-horses, began to move along *this* track of liquid snow, and upon *that* crust of frozen snow below it^a. But the feet of the drivers were not able to make an impression upon the crust, and so take a firm footing on it. The ice therefore was as slippery, as the ground was steep. Both their feet slid away at once, and they fell to the ground^b. They then encountered a fate still worse. As they endeavoured to raise themselves by the aid of their hands or knees, their knees or their hands failed them, and they fell again. There were no roots or bushes, of which they could lay hold with their fingers, or against which they could set their feet. No plant could possibly live, upon such a twelvemonth's bed of frozen snow. They therefore wallowed in the melted mass, and rolled

"baissent ni ne baissent, et paroissent toujours les mêmes, dures comme les pierres, et d'une couleur bleue, qui les différencie de la nouvelle, qui ne fond tout-à-fait que sur la fin de l'été" (St. Simon p. xxiv).

^a Polybius iii. 55. Ὅποτε δὲ ταύτην διαπαύσασαί τις, ἐπὶ τῇ ὑποκαλίῳ καὶ συνεστηκυίᾳ ἐπιβᾷ. Livy xxi. 36. "Ut verò tot hominum jumentorumque incessu dilapsa est [nix nova], per nudam in-frà glaciem, fluentemque tabem liquefcentis nivis, ingrediebantur."

^b Polybius iii. 55. Οὐκ εἰς δεικοπτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεον ἐλισσθαι νοίς ἀμφοτέροις ἀμὰ τοῖς ποσὶ. Livy xxi. 36. "Ut a lubricâ glacie, non recipiente vestigium, et in prono citius pede se fallente."

along the smooth ice of the declivity^c. But the cattle in the cars suffered still more. Their greater bulk, and their iron shoes, enabled them to take a firm footing upon the crust of ice beneath. Yet, even then, they sometimes fell; as their shoes proved not sharp enough in the points, or as the ice happened to be harder in its surface. At times also their hoofs sunk so deep into it, where the ice was thinner or the shoes sharper; that they could not draw them out again, for the next step. They therefore fell in their efforts for progression, with their loaded cars resting upon their backs. They then, in the same efforts, attempted to rise with them. They strained violently, to extricate their entangled feet. They thus broke quite through the shell of ice; and numbers remained as fastened by a fetlock, in the hard, deep, congealed snow beneath^d.

IV. SEEING

^c Polybius iii. 55. Το δὲ συνακολουθῆναι τῆσιν, εἰ δυσχερὲς εἶεν ὑπῆρχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρες, ὡς δυναμένοι τὴν καὶ ὡς χροῖα διακοπῆιν, ὁποῖε, πατοῦντες, Βυλῆβειεν ἢ τοῖς γαστροῖς ἢ ταῖς χερσὶ προσεξερείσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐξαικίστην, τοῖς καὶ μαλλὸν ἐπεπλῆον ἅμα πασὶ τοῖς εἰσισμασίν, ἐπιποδὺ καὶ οὐφερὸν οἴων τὰν χωρίων. Livy xxi. 36. "Seu manibus in affur-
" gendo seu genu sc adjuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis, ite-
" rum cornuissent; nec stirpes circa radiceſve, ad quas pede aut
" manu quifquam eniti posset, erant; ita in levi tantum glacie
" tabidæque nive volutabantur."

^d Polybius iii. 55. Τα δ' ὑποζυγία διακοπῆιν, οἱ πῶροι, τὴν καὶ ὡς χροῖα καὶ τὴν διακτάσιν. Διακοψαῖα δὲ, ἔμενε μὲν τῶν φοβίων, οἷον καὶ πεπληγὸς διὰ τε τοῦ ἔαρος καὶ διὰ τοῦ πάγματος τῆς προπαραχρησῆς χροῖας. But Livy relates this incident in a manner, at once more circumstantial and more judicious. He says in xxi. 36. "Ju-
" menta ſecabam," cut into, but not through, the ice; a sense very different

— IV. —

SEEING this, Hannibal remanded his cars and recalled his van. There was no possibility, he saw, of avoiding the gulph before him by skirting along the

different from, and more just than, that of *διεκοπῆς* in Polybius, which signifies them to cut *through* the ice; “interdum etiam, “*tum infimam ingredientia nivem,*” not breaking through to it entirely, but coming *upon* it, as appears from the sequel; “*et prolapsa,*” a circumstance not accounted for by Polybius; “*jactandis gravidis in continendo ungulis, penitus perfringebant,*” which are the terms answering to Polybius’s *διεκοπῆς* — *τὴν καὶ χιονὰ κατὰ τὴν διαπρασιν,* but giving an additional lustre to them, as they assign a cause to the effect; “*ut pleraque, velut “pedicæ capta, hærent in duratâ et altâ concretâ glacie.*” These two parallel passages serve strongly to enforce the general truth, that a just history of Hannibal’s operations is to be derived from the addition of Livy to Polybius, and that Polybius’s account would be very defective without the supplemental circumstances of Livy.

“At last they came to a place, which neither the elephants, “nor the beasts of burthen,” the draught-cattle, *τοὶς υποζυγίοις,* “could in any manner pass [for its narrowness]. For the ground “—had—very lately—*left the road so narrow, that it was quite impracticable.* At this sight, the troops again were seized with “consternation, and even began to lose all the hopes of safety;” literally, began again to be dispirited and confounded. “An- “nibal at first endeavoured to avoid this route, by changing the “direction of his march, and making a circuit round it;” literally and much more briefly, Hannibal projected at first to go round the defile. “But he soon was forced to desist from that “design. For the way on *every* side was utterly insuperable “[from the snow that had fallen]; through an accident of a “singular kind, which is peculiar to the Alps. The snows of

the side of it. Yet it was now too late to try any other expedient. The short afternoon of a day in the end of October, would be nearly all consumed in these

“ the former year, having remained unmelted upon the mountains, were now covered over by those which had fallen in the present winter,” though we have been told only just before, that it was but *near* the time of winter when the snows fell, and though the original speaks merely of the present year. “ The latter being soft [because they were new], and of no great depth, gave an easy admission to the feet. But when these were trodden through, and the *soldiers*,” the *men*, the drivers of the baggage-cars, and the leaders of the elephants, as well as the troopers, “ began to touch the snows that lay beneath, which were now become so firm, that they would yield to no impression, their feet both,” that is, both their feet, “ fell at once from under them,” literally, they failed and slid away with both their feet together; “ as if they had been walking upon the edge of some high and slippery precipice. And this mischance drew after it a still worse accident. For when they struggled with their hands and knees to recover themselves from their fall,” literally, when after their fall they wished to prop themselves on their hands and knees for rising, “ as the ground was everywhere extremely steep, they were then sure to slide away with greater violence and rapidity than before; carrying likewise with them whatever they had grasped for their support,” words pretending to translate *αμα παρ τοις ΕΡΕΙΣΜΑΣΙΝ*, but mis-understanding them, and turning the very hands and knees, on which the fallen wished to prop themselves up for rising, *ΠΡΟΣΕΞΕΡΕΙΣΑΣΘΑΙ*, into something we know not what, which they had grasped for their support, and now carried with them on their second fall. “ The beasts also that were loaded with the baggage,” the cattle that drew the cars, *τα υποζυγια*, having by their endeavours to rise again [when they had fallen], broken the surface of the lower snow, remained closely wedged in the pits which they had made; and by the weight of the burthens under which they lay, as well as from the unyielding firmness of the snows around them, were fixed immovably in

“ the

these operations. The horses in the cars were therefore un-harnessed, extricated, and brought back with their cars. The elephants, and their drivers on foot, the

"the place" (i. 362—363). This is a mis-construction of Polybius's text, which I must notice in vindication of my own. When the draught-horses had cut into the lower snow, "they remained "with their loads," says the text literally translated, "as if they "were frosted in," οἷον καὶ ἀπαπνυόλα, "because both of the depth "and of the ice," πνιγμα, "of the previous snow." But how different is this version, from Mr. Hampton's! He has particularly considered with Casaubon the Latin translator, that the *depth of the snow* means the *weight of the loads*. Casaubon renders the passage exactly as Mr. Hampton does, "cum ipsis sarcinis—hærebant, et propter gravitatem suam, et propter glaciem." Yet he, who consults the *Greek*, must see the mistake. The words δια τὸ βάρος καὶ διὰ τὸ πνιγμα τῆς προπαραχύσεως χιονος, shew βάρος and πνιγμα by their very arrangement, to mean one and the same object, the snow. Even, if the translation was just to the ideas of Polybius, it is so dissimilar to him in its circumlocutions and repetitions of language, that we may safely say with one of Terence's *Personæ Dramatis*, "no man is so unlike to another as man "is to himself."

But let me additionally observe, that Silius Italicus, in his account of this expedition, has sacrificed historical truth to poetical fiction. He cuts off the feet of the cattle with the ice.

Dumque premit sonipes duro vestigia cursu,
Ungula perfussis hæsit compressa ruinis:
Nec pestis lapsus simplex; abscissa relinquunt
Membra gelu, fractosque asper rigor amputat artus.

The testimonies of Polybius and of Livy unite to show, that this circumstance is as false as it is extraordinary. Yet there is no need of any testimony. He refutes himself sufficiently, as he makes numbers of the Carthaginians to be swallowed up in the opening snow, and whole troops of them to be overwhelmed at the same time by a snow-ball.

the cavalry and their dismounted troopers, trod back that way with pain and apprehension, which they had just gone over before with safety and with ease. Hannibal ordered his whole army to encamp upon the road, at the head of the gulph. Oppressed with the fatigue of their march, with such a chasm directly across their way, and with the experienced impracticability of evading it; his soldiery were now to undergo the additional discouragement, of encamping among the rocks and snows. They dug up the snow, however, and removed it. The quantity, so removed for a whole camp, was necessarily very great. The toil of doing this was very considerable, and made a heavy addition to all. They then pitched their tents upon the bared ground. They there took their repast for the evening, and their repose for the night^c.

In

*Tum, quâ durati concreto frigore collis
Lubrica frustratur canenti semita clivo,
Luſtantem ferro glaciem premit; haurit hiatu
Nix reſoluta viros, altoque á culmine præceps
Viventes turmas operit delapſa ruinâ.*

To ſuch a pitch of romantiſtick extravagance; to ſuch a ſtrain of incidents, that never happened and never could happen in Hannibal's expedition; did Silius ſoar as a poet. Yet, at other times, he ſpeaks only in this moſt manner.

*Lapſantem dubio devexa per invia niſu
Firmabat gremium, atque humentia ſaxa premebat;
Non acies hoſtife tenet, ſed prona minaci
Prærupto turbat, et cautibus obvia rupes;
ſtant clauſi, morientque moras et dura viarum.*

^c Polybius iii. 55. Απορας της τοιαυτης ελπίδος, εργασιωθεντες περι της αιχνης, διακεταμενοι; της εν' αυτη χιονος. "When this attempt
" was

In the night undoubtedly, after some close consultation with others and some deep consideration with himself, he formed his plan. He had no other resource left, than to make a new road. He resolved therefore, to make it upon the old one. The construction of a road entirely new at the side of the other, would be much more tedious and troublesome than the re-formation of the other. He must have cut down the mountain on his left, or have sloped away the precipice on his right. He wisely preferred the formation of a descent into the old road, before either. Accordingly he engaged seriously upon the work, in the morning. The soldiery began on the perpendicular wall of rock, which had been left at the head of the chafin, by the violent subsidence of the ground there. This they were to cut down in such a manner, as to render it descendible for his horses and his cars; and went on in the business very laboriously^f.

But,

“was thus found to be impracticable, Annibal returned again
“to the narrow road which he had quitted,” words not derived from Polybius, derived only from the translator’s own ideas, and from a gross mistake in them concerning the narrative, as if Hannibal and his main body had attempted the precipice; “and, having removed the snow, he encamped at the entrance of it” (i. 364). Livy xxi. 37. “Tandem, nequicquam jumentis atque hominibus fatigatis, castra in jugo posita, ægerrimè ad id ipsum loco purgato; tantum nivis fodiendum atque egerendum fuit.”

^f Polybius iii. 55. Παραστὰς τὰ πλάη, τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐξοκαδοῦν μὲν πολλὰς τῆς ταλαιπωρίας. He “ordered the soldiers to make a firm and level way along the precipice itself; and this, at the expence of vast pains and labour, was at last effected” (i. 364).

Literally

But, before they began to cut down the rocks, they made use of an expedient, that has always attracted the attention of mankind at large, from its real singularity; and has recently engaged the ridicule of our own nation particularly, from the seeming extravagance of it. An incident of a bulk beyond the ordinary standard of incidents, will be surveyed with wonder while men are disposed to be serious, and be treated with a sneer when they grow inclined to be merry. Every kingdom has thus its *oscillations*, as it were, of vivacity and gravity. The Carthaginians felled a number of very large trees, that were growing close to the road, and in the wood of larches immediately around them. They lopped off the heads and the branches from them. With all, they raised a vast pile of fuel upon the rocks of the perpendicular wall. As soon as a strong wind arose for kindling the pile, which at this stormy season of the year, and on this stormy point of the Alps, could not be wanting for many hours together, and would begin to blow (I believe) immediately when the sun began to be warm; they set fire to it. The trees, being of a resinous nature, would soon flame. The rocks appeared glowing beneath, with the intenseness of the heat above. They then applied VINE-

Literally rendered, this long sentence shrinks up into a brief one, thus; "setting the soldiers to work, he destroyed the precipice with great fatigue." Livy xxi. 37. "Inde ad rupem munientem, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti."

GAR to them, to soften them for splitting; and finally opened the burning rocks, with their pickaxes⁸.

Nor

⁸ Livy xxi. 37. "Quum cædendum esset saxum, arboribus circà immanibus dejectis detruncatisque, struem ingentem lignorum faciunt: eamque (quum et vis venti, apta faciendo igni, coorta esset) succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt; ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt."

Silius Italicus, in describing this part of Hannibal's expedition, speaks of the *oaks* and *ashes* which he cut down.

Noctem operi jungunt, et robora ferre coactis
 Appropèrant humeris, et raptas collibus ornos.
 Jamque ubi nudarunt sylvâ densissimâ montis,
 Aggèssere trabes; rapidisque accensus in orbem
 Excoquitur flammis scopulus; mox, proruta ferro,
 Dat genitum patiens resolutò pondere moles,
 Atque aperit fessis antiqui regna Latini.

He notices not the vinegar; though he does what were not there, the *orni* and the *robora*. So inaccurate is he in both points! Ashes and oaks are *not* the *general* trees of the Alps. "Sylvæ abundant *larice*," says Simler 18, "— præterea pinu, piceâ, abiete, aliisque arboribus quæ Alpibus frequentes sunt." What these other trees are, he shows in p. 321 and 322. They are the "aquifolia, tilia, caprinus, buxus, portulaca, taxus," of which *last*, he notes, a great number is often carried even into *England*, for *making the bows which this nation yet uses frequently* (323), "juniperus, terebinthus, caprificus, phylica [philyra], spharcea, nux juglans, castanea, ilex." The oak and the ash of Silius are not among them. "Laricem tamen," adds Simler 323, "præterire non possum, Theophrasto et Græciæ ignotam, propriam nostris Alpibus. Proceritate cognatas arborea æquat, et sæpe etiam superat." Hence the trees of Hannibal are called "immanes" by Livy; as, in the preceding parts of the text, I have noticed the wood at this point to consist peculiarly of larches, and these larches to be perfect in their forms. "— In fecando ferramenta facile patitur. Vetus est opinio, a Plinio quodque literis prodita, eam non ardere nec carbonem facere, neque alio modo ignis vi consumi quàm lapides: — sed falsum fuisse hanc persuasionem inde constat, quod apud Vallesianos, quibusdam in locis,"

Nor let it be thought a circumstance physically impossible, for vinegar to have such an effect upon a heated rock-stone. In the present age, no doubt, we have carried our knowledge very far into the properties, separate or combined, of those portions of matter with which we have an immediate connection here. But infinitely more remains still to be known. It would perhaps require the duration of half a dozen such worlds as this, to discover the properties of all the matter within it; and the pupil of five hundred ages, would still be learning perhaps in the school of nature. But this kind of learning, peculiarly, is

*"cis, non alia ligna in usum faci adhibentur, alicubi etiam in Alpibus
 "ad ferrarias fodinas carbones ex ea fierent.—Præcipua tamen laus
 "est larigna resina"* (323—325). All this resolves a difficulty, particularly noticed concerning the tree in *Essays of Husbandry* 176, [by the Rev. Mr. Harte, rector of Creed &c. in Cornwall, and Canon of Windsor], p. 147—149; a work pregnant with intelligence and ingenuity, yet recommended first to my notice by one, who was formerly his pupil and is still a respecter of his memory, Lord Eliot.

"Lapidum seu carbonum bituminosorum," let me just add from Simler 17—18, as a point very curious in itself, *"quos vulgus stein-kolen vocat,"* as our own people in the north call the rubble of coal *stone-coal*, *"magna est copia apud Sedunos et Siderianos: hi lapides toti nigri sunt, et metallorum modo à montibus effodiuntur, deinde, aliorum lapidum modo, in calcariam fornacem componuntur, et fasciculis aliquot lignorum adhibitis accenduntur, et in calcem optimam convertuntur. Modus hic calcis coquendæ à bituminosis lapidibus non ita pridem inventus est, cum antea tantum ad ignis usum, instar carbonum reliquorum, adhibiti fuerint."* This discovery of burning rubble-coal into lime, is as unknown and as valuable, I apprehend, as my Lord Dundonald's of extracting tar from it. I therefore recommend it, to the active experimentalists of the present times.

often retrograde in its movements; and the flood-tide of knowledge in one age, goes back in an ebb-tide at another. To our equal surprise and vexation at times, we find the ancients possessed of degrees or physical knowledge, with which we were mostly or entirely un-acquainted ourselves. I need not appeal in proof of this, to that extraordinary operation or chemistry, by which Moses reduced the golden calf to powder, and then gave it, mingled with water, as a drink to the Israelites; an operation, the most difficult in all the processes of chemistry, and concerning which it is a sufficient honour for the moderns to say, that they have *once* or *twice* practised it. I need not appeal to the mummies of Egypt, in which the art of embalming bodies is so eminently displayed, that all attempts at imitation have only showed, the infinite superiority of the original to the copy. I need not appeal to the gilding upon those mummies, so fresh in its lustre, to the stained silk of them, so vivid in its colours, after a lapse of three thousand years; to the ductility and malleability of glass, discovered by an artist of Rome in the days of Tiberius, but instantly lost by the immediate murder of the man under the orders of the Emperour, and just now boasted vainly to be re-discovered, by the wildly excentrick yet vividly vigorous genius of that Earl, who professes to teach law to my Lord Chancellor and divinity to my Lords the Bishops, who proposes to send a ship by the force of steam, with all the velocity of a ball from the mouth of a cannon, and who

pretends, by the power of his steam-impelled oars, to beat the waters of the ocean into the hardness of adamant; or to the burning-glasses of Archimedes, recorded in their effects by credible writers, actually imitated by Proclus with Archimedes's own success at the siege of Constantinople, yet boldly pronounced by some of our best judges demonstrably impracticable in themselves, and lately demonstrated by some faint experiments to be very practicable; the skill of the moderns only going so far, as to render credible the practices of the antients^b. I appeal only to a point, of a more familiar nature. Pliny had told us, that oil thrown over the surface of an agitated sea, would allay its fury, and still it into a calm; and that the divers of his age spurted oil out of their mouths in diving, because it took off from the roughness of the water, and let down the light upon

^b The astonishing skill of the antients in all branches of knowledge *merely human*, has been laid open in a work which is but little known, and yet is one of the most learned, original, and (I had almost said) convincing works, in any language perhaps. Such is the strange fate of publications at times! This is entitled "*An enquiry into the origin of the discoveries attributed to the moderns, translated from the French of the Rev. Mr. Duntens, rector of Elfdon, Northumberland: with considerable additions communicated by the author. London—1769.*" The work is seemingly as singular in its history, as it is in its nature. See p. 237—240, 240—241, 254—260, and 323—333. The writer too is the author of that Itinerary in French, which is become the companion of all our travelling gentry, and the source of half their written remarks; but which I have been obliged to refute, in one point above concerning the Alps.

them.

themⁱ. This was such an ascription of miraculous power to a simple liquid, however authenticated in appearance by the practice of the divers; as provoked, I believe, the sneer of every pretender to philosophical reason, who read it. Yet fact has very recently proved the doctrine to be true, and the moderns have been obliged with a blush, even on such a petty point as this, to bow down in reverence to the superior knowledge of the antients^{*}.

ⁱ Pliny ii. 104. "Hyeme mare calidius esse, autumno salius, "omne oleo tranquillari; et, ob id, urinatores ore spargere, quoniam "mitiget naturam asperam, lucemque deportet."

^{*} To the same principle as Pliny's I attribute a phænomenon on the surface of the sea, that strikes directly upon the attention of every *new* surveyor, yet is passed over without remark by men accustomed to the sight, and has puzzled every critick to whom I have been pointing it out for years. This is the streaks of smooth water, which run frequently along the surface of the sea, and are strongly contrasted in windy weather by the rough and dark water at their sides. *A ship or a boat, passing through the waves, leaves just such a track of liquid light behind it.* The oil of the pitch and tar, with which the bottom of the vessel is coated over, mixes more or less with the water, and produces this beautiful effect. But what produces it, when no vessel has lately gone in the direction? We then see these long and narrow mirrors, as it were, though they have never been noticed perhaps in any sea-piece of painting, running frequently in different directions, regularly defined at the sides, and extending for a good length. These I have noticed only upon the coast, in a harbour, or in a tide-river; and they are occasioned, I *conjecture*, by some oily and unctuous matter, which has been discharged into the sea from the vessels, the kitchens, and the privies upon it; which, as floating on the water, yet adhering tenaciously together, is not easily dissipated by winds or waves, is therefore straightened into right lines, or doubled into curves, by both, and then lends the most visible smoothness to the agitated waves themselves.

These notices are sufficient to repress that petulance of ridicule, with which the incident is sure to be always treated at present, by the unthinking generality of our countrymen. But in order to convince the thinking, and to dispel the doubts hanging upon *their* minds, let me now come closer to the point. Livy informs us, that Hannibal made use of vinegar and fire, for splitting the rocks of the Alps. Livy was no naturalist, and had merely to record the fact. But Pliny was; and in that very curious but much neglected work, that grand magazine of antient science, his Natural History, has left us some intimations, which unite by a lucky accident in confirming the truth of the historian. In one of these, he shows fire and vinegar to have been commonly used in the mines of Spain, for the breaking even of flints. In mines, he notes, "men find flints; THESE THEY BREAK WITH FIRE AND VINEGAR; but, as vapour and smoke are suffocating in mines, they oftener split them with iron wedges and hammers of the same metal¹." Nor was this process confined to flints, or peculiar to the Spaniards. It was extended to rocks; and known by Pliny, known by the world at large, to be so extended. "Vinegar," adds the naturalist, "is a complete subduer, not only of meats" by promoting digestion, "but of very many sub-

¹ Pliny xxxiii. 4. "Occursant—filices; hos igni et aceto rumpunt; sæpius verò, quoniam in cuniculis vapor et fumus strangulat, cadunt fracturis;" and "in filice—est—terra,—cunicis eam ferreis aggrediuntur, et iisdem malleis."

“stances beside; WHEN Poured UPON ROCKS, IT
 “BREAKS THOSE WHICH AN ANTECEDENT FIRE
 “COULD NOT BREAK^m.”

Yet the story of Cleopatra's dissolving the union-pearl in vinegar, carries the knowledge of this seemingly chemical principle into an earlier period than Pliny's, and to a much greater distance than Rome. Pliny himself relates the fact, and is very particular in his narration; but I shall cite only the parts, that come immediately to my present purpose. In consequence of a wager with Antony, that she would give him an entertainment costing eighty thousand pounds, and “according to the commands of Cleopatra,” he tells us, “her attendants set only one vessel before her, a vessel of VINEGAR, THE ROUGHNESS AND STRENGTH OF WHICH DISSOLVED PEARLS —; and, while Antony was looking on to see what she was going to do, she took an union-pearl out of one of her ears, PLUNGED IT INTO THE VINEGAR, waited TILL IT WAS LIQUIFIED, and then SWALLOWED IT —: she was also preparing TO DISSOLVE THE PEARL IN HER OTHER EAR, by THE SAME PROCESS; but was prevented by Plan-
 “cusⁿ.” This pearl was worth more than forty thousand

^m Pliny xxiii. 1. “In totum domitrix vis hæc non ciborum modò est, verùm et rerum plurimarum: saxa rumpit infusum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecedens.”

ⁿ Pliny ix. 35. “Ex præcepto, ministri unum tantùm vas ante eam posuère, aceti, cujus asperitas visque in tabem margaritæ

thousand pounds of our money. Nor let us cheat ourselves into a belief of the whole story, which is too well authenticated to need any collateral aid; by supposing the liquid was one studiously prepared by some cunning chemist of Alexandria, and falsely denominated vinegar°. Pliny himself has related, a dissolution of the same nature, as *previously* effected at *Rome* itself. It was there effected, he tells us, "upon union-pearls of great price, by Clodius the son of Æsop the tragœdian; who, being left by him the heir of a very ample fortune, resolved that Antony should not glory too much in his triumph, compared with one who was next to a player." He therefore drank off a liquified pearl of great value, "without any wager laid upon the event, which would have been a more royal mode of acting," as it was Cleopatra's, "and merely

"*resolvit: gerebat autem cum maximè singulare illud, et verè naturæ unicum opus,*" of which "*duo fuere maximi uniones per omne ævum,*" he says before; "*itaque expectante Antonio quidnam esset actura, detractum alterum merfit, ac liquefactum absorbuit: injecit alteri manum L. Plancus, — eum quoque paranti simili modo absumere.*"

° Dutens 253—254. "I say, in a kind of vinegar, for at present we know not of any that can produce this effect: but as the fact is so well attested, we must thence conclude that the queen added something to the vinegar, omitted by the historian; and that Dioscorides —, who was her physician, assisted her at that time with his aid, in enabling her thus to gain the wager —. But even the queen herself was a great adept in this art, as appears from some of her performances, still preserved in the libraries of Paris, Venice, and the Vatican."

3 "that

“ that he might have the glory, of making his palate
 “ to perceive how pearls tasted.” Nor was he content with this; “ but as they were wonderfully refreshing, that he might not enjoy the luxury alone, “ he gave his guests an union-pearl each to swallow.” This shows the practice of dissolving pearls in vinegar, to have been not confined to Cleopatra, not peculiar to the cunning chemists of Alexandria, but known before at Rome, and at Rome astonishingly familiar too. For that these Roman dissolutions were equally with Cleopatra’s made in vinegar, is plainly intimated by Pliny, and is expressly asserted by Horace.

Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,
 Silicet ut decies solidum exorberet, aceto
 Diluit insignem baccam⁹;

A pearl of price, drawn from Metella’s ear,
 The son of Æsop plunged in vinegar;
 Then with proud luxury quaffed the melted mass,
 That in one draught eight thousand pounds might pass.

Nor need we close this list of physical miracles and paradoxical luxuries, here. Caligula also, as Suetonius informs us, “ swallowed the most precious

^p Pliny ix. 35. “ Prior id fecerat Romæ in unionibus magnæ taxationis Clodius Tragedi Æsopi filius, relictus ab eo in amplis opibus hæres, ne in triumviratu suo nimis superbiat Antonius, pene histrioni comparatus; et quidem nullâ sponcione ad hoc productâ, quod id magis regium erat, sed ut experiretur in gloriâ palati quid saperent margaritæ: atque ut mirè placere, ne solus hoc sciret, singulos uniones convivis [convivis] absorbendos dedit.”

⁹ Horace Sat. ii. 3. 239—241.

"pearls liquified in vinegar". So similar are all these incidents to Cleopatra's! So strongly do they unite, to show her liquefaction made with one and the same liquid as theirs! That we know of no mere vinegar, which will dissolve pearls; cannot be alledged, I apprehend, because we know of no wealth (I suppose) that has ever ventured upon an experiment so costly. Nor shall we in all probability ever hear of such an experiment, till the wealth of Cleopatra devolves to some person, as ostentatiously profuse as herself; or till the accumulated wealth of a world shall again center in one city, and generate that wild freak of prodigality in an emperor, in the very son of a player, to think of quaffing *the wine of pearls*.*

* Suetonius, Caligula 37. "Pretiosissimas margaritas, aceto liquefactas, forberet."

* I think I have read of such a wine by name, in some of those oriental romances, in which Fancy, like another Phaeton, seems to mount their own orb of day, dazzles without illuminating the Earth, and burns without brightening the Heavens.

Pliny also records a *medical* experiment with vinegar (xxiii. 1), that deserves to be known, and carries a near relation to my present subject. "Non est prætereundum in eo exemplum ingens: "siquidem M. Agrippa *supremis suis annis* conflictatus gravi morbo pedum," the gout, I believe, "cum dolore eum perpeti nequireret, unius medicorum *portentosa* scientia, ignorante Divo Augusto, tanti putavit *usu pedum sensuque omni carere*, dummodo et dolore illo careret, *demersis in acetum calidum curribus* in accerrimo impetu morbi." Would heated vinegar, thus applied, now take away all feeling and sense? Or would any physician now dare to adopt this "portentous" proof of knowledge, and prescribe a bath of warm vinegar in the highest violence of a paroxysm?

But

But leaving the natural historian to settle the mode and means of these dissolutions, which throw a strong light collaterally upon the practice of the Spanish miners, in splitting flints at times with fire and vinegar, and upon the practice of many nations, in heating rocks with fires and pouring vinegar upon them, in order to break them up; I go on to observe, that from these actions Hannibal undoubtedly adopted his, and only used the means which he knew to be used by others. Nor let us lull our understandings asleep, and lose our powers of judgment in the dreams of fancy, by supposing Hannibal, like Cleopatra, Clodius, and Caligula, to have waited the slow progress of a dissolving *menstruum*. His time was too precious, to be wasted in a chemical operation. His vinegar was not used as a dissolvent; and his fire was only to act, as equally a facilitating means for breaking up the rocks. Previous to the introduction of gunpowder into mines, it was usual in the English and the German to split the rocks with fires, and, just as Hannibal's were split, with fires of wood. It is indeed the most antient method of splitting rocks in mines, that we find recorded in history; being noticed by Diodorus Siculus, as practised in some of the mines of Egypt^u. Accordingly we know this

^t Some have been almost ready to suppose, that Hannibal's vinegar was "quale ferè est illud quod in officinis *Aqua Fortis* appellatur, quæ ferrum ipsum consumit" (Grævius's *Thesaurus* v. 965).

^u Watson's *Chemical Essays* i. 344—345.

method, not to be yet sunk entirely in disuse among us"; and we find it continued familiarly in Switzerland and the Vallais, to the days of Simler. "In our time," he says, "the miners act nearly in the same manner as Hannibal acted; breaking with fire the hardest veins of metal, which are rich in themselves, but too strong for the pick-axe; because fire so softens the hardest rocks, that they become brittle*." In these exertions of subterraneous industry, however, we find no application of vinegar; though we do in the Spanish mines for the breaking of flints, and in many mines for the splitting of rocks. Yet vinegar has no action upon flints in general, remarks an eminent chemist; and Pliny might mean perhaps a particular species of them, which is called Chert, is found in beds within our own country, and raised in large quantities at Bakewell in Derbyshire, in order to grind other flints by it for the use of potteries†. This conjecture I believe to be very just, as Pliny's flints are great masses of very hard stone, obstructing the progress of the miner. "The gold that is dug in *adits*," he informs us, "is called canal gold—: these canals of veins run through marble rocks, and the sides of

* Watson's Chemical Essays i. 344—345.

† Simler 219. "Nostrâ ætate metallici eodem ferè modo durissimas venas metallorum, fœcundas, sed impatientes ferri, igni frangunt; is enim durissima saxa ita molliit, ut maximè fiant fragilia."

† Watson's Chemical Essays i. 347 and ii. 262—263.

“ the *adits*, here and there; and thence have their
 “ name; while the earth is propped up by pillars of
 “ timber:—another mode” of mining “ beats the
 “ works of the giants; *shafts* are sunk to a vast depth,
 “ and the mountains are hollowed by candle-light—;
 “ in *both* kinds of mines are found *flints*; these they
 “ break with *fire and vinegar*.” This was the prac-
 tice in the days of Hannibal, retained still to the days
 of Pliny. “ But” in the days of Pliny a new mode
 had been adopted; and, though the other was still
 continued, this was “ more frequently” used. “ Be-
 “ cause vapour and smoke are suffocating in shafts
 “ [Pliny means mines in general], they hew down
 “ the flints in masses of about 150 pounds each, and
 “ bear the masses on their shoulders night and day,
 “ delivering them in the dark to the nearest party;
 “ while the remotest is in daylight. If the flint
 “ *appears pretty long*, they follow the sides of it, sur-
 “ rounding it with a trench. Yet we may more
 “ easily judge of their labour, in the flint itself; for
 “ it is an earth of a kind of clay mixt with grit
 “ (they call it white) *almost inexpugnable*; they assail
 “ it with iron wedges, and with hammers of the same
 “ metal; and think *nothing harder than it*.” The
 flint

= Pliny xxxiii. 4. “ Quod puteis foditur, canalicium vocant—;
 “ hi venarum canales per marmor vagantur, et latera puteorum,
 “ et huc illuc [huc et illuc]; inde nomine invento; tellusque lig-
 “ neis columnis suspenditur:—tertia ratio opera vicerit Gigan-
 “ tum; cuniculis per magna spatia actis, cavantur montes ad lu-
 “ cernarum lamina—; occurrant in utroque genere silices; hos
 “ igni

flint of Pliny, therefore, is the chert of our own times, lying in beds within our Derbyshire mines, and so hard as to be used for grinding the common flints. Yet with all this hardness, and though vinegar is found to have no operation upon common flints; it assuredly has upon them and it, when it is made to operate in the only form, to which Pliny has ascribed its efficacy upon flints, *in conjunction with fire*. But Pliny asserts it to have such an efficacy, *in such a conjunction*; and the modern chemist with unconscious sophistry contradicts him, because it has not *by itself*. The fact is, I believe, that vinegar has many virtues, with which the antients were familiarly acquainted, but of which the moderns are wholly ignorant; which are to this day as seemingly mysterious and incredible to us, as the tranquillizing power of oil upon water was within these few years; which some such lucky discovery as Dr. Franklin's concerning the oil, can alone recall into credibility and use again; and which this very dissertation of mine may perhaps serve, to bring before

“igni et aceto rumpunt; sæpius verò, quoniam in cuniculis [Pliny's argument requires the word to be *fodinis*] vapor et fumus
 “strangulat, cædunt fracturis, et libras ferri terram [I suppose,
 “et libras ferè terræ] agentibus, egeruntque humeris noctibus ac
 “diebus, per tenebras proximis tradentes; lucem novissimi cer-
 “nunt. Si longior videtur filix, latus sequitur [*Vet.* latera sequun-
 “tur], fossam ambit quietè [*Vet.* fossam in ambitu ducentes].
 “Tamen in filice faciliùs existimatur opera; est nanque terra ex
 “quòdam argillæ genere, glareæ mista (Candidam vocant), propè
 “inexpugnabilis: cuneis eam ferreis aggrediuntur, et iisdem mal-
 “leis; nihilque durius putant.”

the

the mind of the publick, to carry to the test of trial, and to settle with the oil in all their antient reputation again. The credited efficacy of vinegar is strikingly apparent among the antients, in what I have already noticed; and much more strikingly apparent, than the credited influence of oil. It was used for the dissolution of pearls, it was used for the breaking of flints, it was used for the splitting of rocks; and was assuredly found an instrument usefully powerful, in all these operations.

Modern times indeed seem to have discarded the agency of vinegar, as they had once discarded equally the efficacy of oil. We split our rocks in mines with gunpowder, and our masses of moorstone with wedges, at present. But we see some facts, even in our own time, and within our own island, that show the use of a liquid cooperating with fire, to prepare moorstones and rocks for splitting, under the stroke of a hammer or the point of a pickaxe. I allude to some, that have never yet been noticed by the pen of natural history; authors, in this kind of literature particularly, being the mere train-bearers of the world, coming after it at a respectful distance, and holding up that to view which would only trail on the ground behind it.

At Abury in Wiltshire are the remains of a famous temple of the Britons, composed of huge masses of erected rock, that have been collected from the
surface

surface of the downs adjoining, as some still appear upon Marlborough downs; are generally denominated *Sarsens*, by the people of the country; and are proverbially distinguished among them, for their hardness^a. Yet these stones, so hard in themselves, have been lately split by the natives in a manner, very nearly resembling Hannibal's process with the rocks of the Alps, and only substituting a simple liquid for a strong one. About the year 1694, a self-taught Hannibal of Abury first invented the mode of demolishing these stones by fire and *water*; and executed it with success. Then a second inhabitant of the place became peculiarly eminent, in this Alpine kind of operation; gloried in his greater success; and eclipsed the honour of the first discoverer. "The method," says one who justly regrets the exertion of this Spanish kind of ingenuity, upon such a venerable monument of antiquity, "is to dig a pit by the side of the stone, till it falls down; then to *burn*

^a *Sarsen* is derived by Dr. Stukeley in his Abury 16, from the Phœnician language; in accomodation to a wild hypothesis, which the Irish have lately revived again, without seeming to know to whom they were originally obliged for it; and by which they and the Doctor would plant a colony of Phœnicians, in defiance of all history, upon the face of these British isles. But it is only a Celtick word, signifying a rock or a rough thing. Carreg (Welsh) a stone, Carraigh (Irish) a great stone pitched upon an end, Carn (Armorick) a rock, and Carn (W and I) a heap of stones, do all come from Garbh (I) Garw (W) Haru (Cornish), and Aru, Saru (A) rough or rugged; and all terminate in Arn, Carn, Garn, Sarn (A) a rock, Sarn (A and W) a pavement of stones. *Sarsen* therefore is a native term, for the native blocks of our moors,

*“ many loads of straw under it: they draw lines of
“ water along it, when beaten; and then, with smart
“ strokes of a great sledge-hammer, its prodigious bulk
“ is divided into many lesser parts.”*

But, what is very remarkable, the very same process appears to have been equally pursued, by an English gentleman in Scotland still more recently. Aaron Hill, that star of literature which would have shone with considerable brightness, if it had not happened to be so near to the sun in Pope, and which still shone brightly, in spite of all the enviously eclipsing light of that; even he, among other adventures of a spirit vigorous and enterprising, formed the plan of bringing timber from the Highlands, for the use of our royal navy. In 1728, therefore, he sent the trees in chained floats down the Spey. “ In their
“ passage,” adds his biographer, “ he found a great
“ obstacle in the rocks.” But either apprized of the mode used in Wiltshire, or (as seems from a variation in his conduct) adopting the mode from the suggestions of his own mind, he removed the rocks by the use of fire and water. Upon them “ he ordered
“ fires to be made when the river was low, and great
“ quantities of water to be thrown,” not drawn in lines upon the heated surface of the rock, but thrown in scoops or sheets upon it; “ by which means they were

“*broken to pieces and thrown down, so that the passage became easy to the floats*.”

These incidents show us very strongly the natural recourse of the human mind, in different ages, and at different regions, to such united instruments of operation as fire and liquid, for better splitting of rocks. The first liquid applied was probably water; the first which was brought upon the table, the first which was used in mechanical operations. Then refinement, arguing from the efficacy of vinegar in dissolving some substances, expected from it a greater activity than water had, in preparing rocks for the pickaxe. *Vinegar* could not have been so used, till wines were made; and *Alegar*, which is its primitive appellation in all these western regions of Europe, still retained in the north of our own kingdom, though totally unknown in the south of it, could not have been so applied before ale was first brewed in Egypt. Nor could refinement have ever adopted vinegar, if water had been equally efficacious. And water preserved its credit only in those regions, where refinement had *not* entered, and where the dissolving virtues of vinegar were *not* celebrated.

Nor let us hesitate and pause in our application of vinegar to the rocks of Hannibal, concerning the nature of these rocks. The summits of the Alps are

* A new and general Biographical Dictionary. 1784. A. Hill.
almost

almost entirely of granite, the constituent *strata* of the earth not lying, as it has been reasonably surmised they did lie, according to their specific gravities, but the heaviest spreading in this instance over the top of all; and hence are so many blocks of granite found in the channels of the Alpine rivers, beaten down from the summits by the sweeping of the rains, the driving of the snows, or the falling away of the sides^d. These granites, except they be previously pulverized, cannot be fused by the most violent fires of the furnace itself. But in their native state they repose upon a bed, of either calcareous or free stone; which runs in horizontal banks through the mountains, to the very base of them^e. Hence are derived, says the natural historian of the Alps, “the fragments of marble, and
“ of other kinds of calcareous stones, that are found

^d Coxe i. 316, speaking of the valley of St. Gothard, and the Reufs bursting through it, says, “on each side” are “immense
“ shattered blocks of granite, of a beautiful greyish colour (and of
“ which the summits of these Alps are composed) confusedly
“ piled together.” In ii. 29. he adds: “large stones of granite
“ are usually found at a small distance from the extremities of the
“ glacier; these stones have certainly fallen from the mountains
“ upon the ice.” Saussure i. 143. “Les hautes sommets des
“ Alpes sont presque toutes de ce genre de pierre,” the granite.

^e Saussure i. 166. “Même par le feu le plus violent des four-
“ neaux.”

^f Saussure i. 201. “Le fond, sur lequel ils [blocs de granit] étoient
“ déposés, est de pierre calcaire ou de gres.” In i. 226. he speaks
of some granites, “par une base de rocher calcaire, sur lequel
“ chacun d’eux repose; cette base est une continuation les bancs
“ horizontaux de la montagne.” Bourrit i. 233. “Les calcaires
“ composent les parties les plus basses des Alpes.”

“very frequent on the borders of the lake” of Geneva, “on the banks of the rivers, and in the interior of our hills.” This kind of stone, he adds, “is easy to be distinguished by its moderate hardness, its *dissolubility* (and with effervescence) in *acids*, and its *conversion into quick-lime by the action of fire* ^h.”

In the first ideas of Hannibal’s adventure, therefore, we should seek for rocks of free or calcareous stone, as the objects of his ingenuity; and hope to encounter no rocks of granite, with him. But, as in fact Hannibal did not want to fuse any rocks, we need not be apprehensive of granites; and, as Hannibal did not wish to dissolve any in his acids, or to convert any into quick-lime by his fires, we need not be solicitous for either calcareous or free stones. There is indeed a considerable difference in the substance of the Alps, between the northern and the southern mountains. Though the northern, or those of Switzerland, are composed of vast masses almost totally calcareous; yet the southern, or those of Italy, are not. The latter do not form such broad and regular chains of calcareous rock, as the former. Nor are the calcareous mountains in the passage by mount Cenis, in

g Saussure i. 131. “Les fragmens de marbre et des autres especes des pierres calcaires, se rencontrent tres-frequeemment sur les bords du Lac, des rivieres, et dans l’interieur des nos collines.”

h Saussure i. 131. “Ce genre est facile à reconnoitre : sa dureté mediocre, sa dissolubilité, et avec effervescence, dans les acides, sa conversion en chaux vive par l’action du feu, sont des caracteres, qui ne sont point equivoques.”

the roads over the two St. Bernards, in the ways over the Simplon and St. Gothard, fit to be compared with the calcareous mountains on the north^l. In *those*, adds Saussure, "the laminated rocks, the "granites, even reach down to the plains, and, if "there be any calcareous mountains, they are scattered^k." We are thus confined in our operations to granites. But what kind of granites are they? Saussure himself shall tell us. "St. Remy," he remarks, "is the last village that one finds upon this "route," upwards and from Italy: "in falling out "of this village, one passes along a narrow road, "carried over a laminated rock, abounding in quartz "and mica;" the quartz being one of the principal ingredients in granites, at once the cement and the basis of many of them^l; the mica being one of the most common ingredients, both in granites and in laminated rocks^m. "This rock" near St. Remy, adds Saussure, "divides in *plates ében and regular*; "those, which we saw at St. Remy, were fetched "from *this mountain*ⁿ." And those are thus described

^l Saussure iv. 215—216.

^k Saussure iv. 215. "Du côté meridional, au contraire, les "roches feuilletées, les granits, même arrivent jusqu' aux plaines; "et, s'il y a des montagnes calcaires, elles sont éparées."

^l Saussure iv. 137 and 138.

^m Saussure i. 129—130.

ⁿ Saussure iv. 222. "St. Remy est le dernier village, que "l'on rencontre sur cette route —. En sortant du village, on "passe par" &c. "Le sentier que l'on suit est tracé — sur une "roche feuilletée quartzéuse et micacée, qui se divise en dalles

scribed by him before : " I admired at St. Remy the
 " laminated and very hard rocks, which separate of
 " themselves into tables *perfectly even and perfectly*
 " *dressed*; their matter is white quartz mixed with
 " yellow mica, and there are thin beds of this mica,
 " the parts of which, having little cohesion between
 " them, make the stone to split according to their
 " direction. I measured one of them in the yard of
 " the inn : it was *six feet in length* and *three in breadth*,
 " yet not more than two inches in thickness." These
 are the very rocks of Hannibal, all formed in long
 thin layers, all separating easily into slabs smooth and
 regular. If then the solid and un-laminated rocks of
 Abury yielded to fires of straw, to lines of water,
 and to strokes of sledge-hammers; these of St. Re-
 my might well submit to accumulated fires of wood,
 the infusion of vinegar, and the point of the pickaxe.
 They would break up indeed under all, very readily,
 in long and wide flakes of rock; and so expedite the
 work of reducing the perpendicular cliff, very great-
 ly. Lying probably, in the sunken state of the plane

" planes et regulieres; celles, que nous avons vues à St. Remy,
 " sont tirées de cette montagne."

o Saussure iv. 221. " J'admirai à St. Remi des roches feuille-
 " tées, tres-dures, qui se separent d'elles-mêmes en tables parfai-
 " tement planes, et parfaitement dressées; leur matiere est de
 " quartz blanc, melé de mica jaunâtre; et ce sont des couches
 " minces de ce mica, dont les parties, peu coherentes entr'elles,
 " decident la pierre à se separer suivant leur direction. J'en me-
 " surai une dans la cour de l'auberge; elle avoit 6 pieds de lon-
 " gueur, et 3 de largeur, sur une epaisseur de 2 pouces au plus."

of

of the road, with their edges appearing on the surface, and with their slabs dipping directly downwards into the hollow; one slab of six or seven feet in height, and three or four in breadth, forming perhaps the whole breadth and height of the perpendicular wall; lines of vinegar, drawn along the glowing and gaping edges, would make them gape still more for the pickaxe. Then the cold of the vinegar above, a liquid colder than water, and the heat of the flame below, a heat greater in these thinly foliated stones than in blocks wholly un-foliated, acting in direct opposition to each other, *this* expanding and *that* contracting the substance of the stone; the whole mass would be ready to split asunder in all its layers, from the impulse of the two contrary powers; and instantly carry its tendency into operation, on feeling the point of the pickaxe between them. Just when it split, the stone would *cry*, as the phrase of our workmen is in breaking Cornish moorstones with wedges; a circumstance, even noticed expressly by Silius Italicus himself, concerning the very rocks of Hannibal;

Dat gemitum patiens resolute pondere moles.

Finally these flakes of rock, only two inches in thickness at the most, and still glowing from the fires, would be beat up very easily into rubbish; and thrown so, as to slope away the perpendicular wall into a regular descent^P.

All

^P Of what kind the stones of Abury are, is not easy to be dis-

All serves to vindicate the physical possibility of this extraordinary account in Livy, to the fullest extent of it. Yet there is another possibility still behind, which it is requisite equally to vindicate, in order to put this long-exploded incident in a proper point of view. It is however an historical one, lies within a short compass, and is merely this. However vinegar may have the power, of softening a glowing rock for splitting; yet whence could Hannibal derive his vinegar, for that purpose? This question has been repeatedly proposed with all that air of triumph, with which ignorance often insults over knowledge, and folly wantons in imaginary conquests of wisdom. But let folly suppress its broad grin, and ignorance keep in its vacant stare, while I

cerned through the shifting language of Stukeley. "The stones, of which Stonehenge is composed, beyond any controversy come from those called the Gray Weathers, upon Marlborough Downs near Abury" (Stonehenge 5); "the stones of the Gray Weathers are of a ballard sort of *marble*" (ibid.); "passing from Marlborough hither," to Abury, "'tis the common topic of amusement for travellers, to observe the Gray Weathers on Marlborough Downs, which are of the same kind of stones as this of our antiquity" (Abury 14); "the stone being a kind of *marble*, or rather *granite*" (16). The moorstones on the wastes and hill-tops of Cornwall, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Yorkshire, and other places, are "of a *harder* nature than these, and much the same as the Egyptian *granite*" (17). "When broke, it looks whitish like *marble*; it would bear a good polish, but for a quantity of bluish *granules* of sand, which are soft, and give it a grayish or speckled colour" (ibid.). They are real *granites*, I believe, like Mr. Coxe's "blocks of *granite* of a beautiful *greyish* colour" (i. 316), and from this called *Gray Weathers*.

reply

reply decisively to the question. Hannibal did not carry the vinegar with him, in a just foresight of the gulph that would come yawning across his course, and in a formed resolution of applying it to the rocks. He could not foresee, what even his guides did not expect. How then could he have his vinegar, and such a quantity of it, ready for the work? He had it thus. He carried his provisions with him, being obliged to do so; as he could not depend upon the contingency of a supply, from the nations below or upon the Alps, through which he was to march. For *this* reason, as I have noticed before¹, he had such a train of *cars* attending upon his army. "The
 " army of Hannibal," says Polybius, " could not
 " possibly carry with them through so many places,
 " and for so many myriads, an abundance of pro-
 " visions; and the greatest part of *what they did*
 " *carry was destroyed*, when the *cars* were overturned"
 down the precipices at the entrance². Of these provisions, the *solids* must have been easily recoverable, whether fleshmeat salted or un-salted, but salted

¹ In Vol. i. Chap. iii. Sect. i.

² Polybius iii. 60. Οὐτε γὰρ διακομίζειν ἐς τοσαύτης μεμετρίας, δια-
 τοσίων τοπων, θαψίλη τὰ πρὸς τῇ τρέφῃ. οἷσι δ' ἔποιεν ἅ τε καὶ παρ-
 κομίζον, σμα τῇ τῶν υποζυγίων κατὰφθερα, καὶ τῶν τὰ πλείστα συλ-
 πλωτο. "For in a march *so long and difficult*, it was *utterly impossi-*
 " *ble to bring with them such supplies*, as might fully satisfy the
 " wants of *so numerous* an army; and even those which they had
 " brought were almost all lost among the precipices, with the
 " *beasts that carried them*," τῶν υποζυγίων, the beasts that drove
 them in the cars (i. 370—371).

assuredly, like that of our sailors at present. The *liquids* alone could have been lost by the fall. *These* must have been entirely lost; as the barrels of liquor would dash against the rocks in their fall, and be staved. Yet what was the common liquor of an army then? It was VINEGAR. This we know to have been the stated and customary beverage, for the Roman soldiers; and to have been only a few years ago taken up from them by those, who affect to call themselves the Holy Roman Empire, the Imperialists of Germany in the war of the Emperour Joseph against the Turks. We may therefore conclude it to have been equally so for the Carthaginians, and for all nations that had wine. We are sure, that the Carthaginians excluded wine itself from their camps; and are as sure, that neither they nor the Romans had any ale among them. The Romans and the Carthaginians, we also find, agreed very exactly with each other in their ordinary *food*. This was equally with both, that kind of hasty-pudding which was denominated *Puls* by the former¹. We have

¹ Aristoteles i. *Æcon.* cap. v. Ἐπειδὴ ἡ τὴ οἶνον ποσις καὶ τῆς λευθερίας ὑβρίσας ποιεῖ, καὶ πολλὰ εἶδη ἀπὶ χύλῃ καὶ τῶν λευθερωῶν, οἷον Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπὶ γαλιᾶς κ. ἡ. λ. (Lipsius de *Militiâ Romana* 325. edit. ult. Antverpiæ. 1614).

² Pliny xviii. 8. "Pulte autem, non pane, vixisse longo tempore Romanos, manifestum." Lipsius adds De Mil. Rom. 325: "Notum a Plauto *pultifagos* Romanos appellari; et in Ammiano est de Juliano Imperatore, jam in castris, Cœnaturo pultis portio parabatur exigua." But Cato in his Husbandry describes very circumstantially, what he calls expressly "*Puls Pœnica*" (Græ-
vius

have therefore an additional reason for concluding, that the ordinary *liquor* of both was the same at this period. And what the liquor or the food of the common men was at home, naturally became the standing provision for the soldiers in the field. The military drink of the Carthaginians therefore, was the same as the military beverage of the Romans; a mixture of vinegar and water, even that very mixture, which Appian states expressly to have been the liquid of Hannibal at the rocks^u; and known among the Romans by that appellation of *Posca*, which is still

vius x. 1500). This “puls,” which was a kind of pudding made of meal, water, and salt, seasoned with cheese, eggs, or honey (Grævius xii. 145 and 231); is the same a little varied, as what the generality of the common people in Italy breakfast upon at present. This they now call by the kindred and equally old appellation, of *polenta*; “a sort of pudding made with the flower of “Turkey-corn, on which, while it is hot, they spread some fresh “butter, with the addition of some walnuts or a slice of cheese, “if they can afford it” (Baretti’s Account of Italy ii. 113. Dublin).—From this food, so dressed, is derived “*Pouls, Puls,* “bouillie, B.; — *Pulsa*, en Italien, bouillie; *Pou*, espece de “bouillie en basse Normandie; *Pouffate*, bouillie en Messin” (Buliet iii. 274); and from the contempt, which a beef-fed Englishman (I suppose) entertained for such slender kind of diet, that expression in the north of England, “*Pouffe* and trash,” for any thing contemptible. Yet whence comes our application of *Pulse* in elegant language, and of *Pouffe* in Spenser’s, to leguminous plants; the latter meaning not *peas*, as Johnson thinks, but, as analogy shows, *pulse*?

But who shall judge the wager won or lost
That shall yonder heard-groom, and none other,
Which over the *pouffe* hitherward doth post.

^u Appian i. 545. Τεταλινος χυμος.

used in the Milanese for slender wine". Hannibal would thus have a full supply of the requisite liquor, in his stock of provisions for the army. His tools, and his vinegar, would be equally furnished from his attending stores. His tools needed only to be those pickaxes for cleaving the rocks, which were used in opening the ground for the tent-poles; and those hammers for breaking the flakes into rubbish, which were equally used in driving the poles. And by using the vinegar just as the men of Abury used the water, merely for drawing lines upon the burning rock; one or two barrels would be sufficient^v.

Having

^v Grævius x. 1500. "*Poscam* hunc fuisse volunt, quod quidem vocabulum pro tenui hodie vino apud Insu-bres usurpatur."

^x Vegetius iii. 3. "Frumenti verò, vini, *aceti*, necnon etiam salis, omni tempore necessitas declinanda;" and in iv. 7. as provisions against a siege, "vini, *aceti*, ceterarumque frugum vel pomorum, congerendæ sunt copiæ." Spartian in Pescennius Niger c. 10 says, "iussit vinum in expeditione neminem bibere, sed *aceto* universos esse contentos." This emperor, it is observed in c. ii, had "Marium ante oculos,—et duces tales; nec alias fabulas unquam habuit, nisi de *Annibale* ceterisque talibus." Spartian in Hadrian c. 10 says thus: "cibis etiam castrensibus in propatulo libenter utens, hoc est, larido, caseo, et poscâ, exemplo Scipionis Æmiliani, et Metelli, et auctoris sui Trajani." But let me carry the notice, agreeably to the examples here mentioned, into a higher period than the days of Vegetius, of Pescennius Niger, or of Hadrian. In the records of our religion, St. John xix. 29, we have these words, "there was a vessel full of *vinegar*," *οξυς; εν σκελε οξος μικτος*. This was not brought, as has been supposed by some (Grævius v. 966), for a potion of comfort to the dying sufferers on the cross. It was not given to either of the thieves. Nor was it given to our Saviour himself;

Having now asserted both the physical and the historical *possibility*, of Livy's related incidents at the rock; I close a dissertation, which was absolutely necessary to the removal of prejudice, with a vindication equally necessary of their historical *certainly*. Livy indeed should be a sufficient witness for that certainty, and his evidence be acknowledged as valid history. But mankind are governed by humour in the literary world, as well as in the social; and a humour has been showing itself for some time among scholars, as I have noted before, of raising Polybius into an eminence un-merited in the history of Hannibal, and sinking Livy into a degradation undeserved by him. Livy indeed has his faults, and I have freely reprehended them; but Polybius has his too, and I have as freely exposed them. I have particularly shown the former, to relate many, many circumstances which Polybius omits, and which are of moment to the narrative. I have even shown him relating one, which is essential to the completeness of Polybius's own history, and yet is entirely omitted by Polybius's own pen; the perplexed, the erroneous, the retrograde progression of the Carthaginians, in all those wilds from the hill of ambushade to the as-

himself, till he cried "I thirst." It was too "a vessel full of vine gar." From these circumstances, and from the preceding account, it appears to have been a part of the drink, which was allotted to the soldiery at Jerusalem, which was taken daily out of the stores for them, and distributed in a proper proportion to this band of men.

cent of St. Bernard, into which they had been drawn by the very guides of Polybius himself. Polybius indeed, in the present portion of our history, does not omit merely the application of vinegar to the rocks, as the wild cry of those, who prefer Polybius to Livy upon that point, would lead us to suppose; but mentions not even the trees cut down, the fires made, or the pickaxes used upon the glowing rock. He takes no notice of *any* of the *means*, by which the work was effected. He remarks only the result of them all. Shall *he* then be urged as a silent witness, against the use of *one* of the means; when he is equally such a witness, if he is any at all, against the use of *every* means? Surely he shall not. And that ever he has been so urged, is a strong proof of the foolishness of criticism, looking only at a single point, and blind to every thing else; just catching sight of a grain of sand, fixing its whole attention upon that, and lost to an universe besides. Let us then hear no more of the silence of Polybius, as opposed to the attestation of Livy; unless *all* the facts, *all* the circumstances, equally omitted by Polybius, are meant to be equally annihilated with this; unless the rocks particularly we mean to break up with Polybius, *without any one operation interposed for the purpose*. The declaration of Livy, the declaration of Polybius, is fully competent for any incident, without wanting one to stand by the side of the other, and repeat his declaration. Nor have ever the favourers of *Livy* ascended to that height of absurdity,

to tear away from the history all that he has omitted and Polybius has noticed, and so reduce the narrative to a naked skeleton. But here Livy only does, what Polybius should in common-sense have done before him; only describes the instrumental causes, while he relates the combined effects.

Livy, however, is not the only writer, who has recorded the application of vinegar as one of these causes. Juvenal speaks of it, as a fact peculiarly characteristick of Hannibal's expedition, and as a part equally credited with the whole. In the most elevated of all his satires, and in his highest flight of panegyrick upon Hannibal, he very properly calls out this grand action into view, and places it in a central point of light.

..... Opposuit Natura Alpemque nivemque;
Diducit scopulos, et montem rumpit ACETO:

Though Nature rears her Alps and piles her snows,
The strong rocks burst, and the proud mountain bows,
Before his VINEGAR.

This indeed is the raised language of poetry, yet substantiates the general truth very plainly. But Appian relates the incident, in all the soberness of prose. Hannibal "came to the Alpine mountains," he says, "and ascended them; and, there being much frost and snow, he cut down timber, he burned it, he extinguished the ashes with fire and VINEGAR, with iron hammers he beat down the rock when it was
" thus

“thus softened, and formed a road.” This is very pointed and particular, though it is not precisely just; and comes in with great energy, to establish the principal fact. But Marcellinus shows us the continuing faith of the Romans concerning it, to the very last. Hannibal, he informs us, “cut down the “rock which was immensely high; having previously “dissolved it with a great force of burning flames, and “with an infusion of VINEGAR.” Thus authenticated by the united testimonies of Marcellinus, of Appian, of Juvenal, and of Livy; the incident stands upon the history like a strong fortress built upon a hill, un-affailable from its own barriers, more un-affailable still from its advantageous position, and laughing at all the impotence of hostility from both. Yet let me, like a very cautious engineer, a Coehorn or a Vauban in the polemicks of history, add to the security of the fortress, by throwing up a couple of redoubts before it. We are not without a similar fact in the annals of the Romans themselves, at a period not very far from Hannibal’s, and prior to the days of Livy. When Metellus besieged the town of Eleuthera in Crete, as Dion Cassius tells us, some

† Appiani. 545. Ελθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπίας οὐκ, — ὑπεβῆκε κακιστοῖς — χιόνος τε πολλῆς ὥσπερ καὶ κρυῖς, τῶν μὲν ὕλην περιαντὴν καὶ καλὰ καίων, τὴν δὲ τιφρὰν ὀδόντις ὑδατὶ καὶ ἐξῆλ, καὶ τὴν πύργον, ἐκ τούτου ψαφάρας γιγνομένης, σφυραῖς σιδηραῖς θραύων, καὶ ὁδοποιῶν.

‡ Marcellinus xv. 10. p. 109—110. “Excisaque rupe in immensum elata, quam cremandæ vi magnæ flammarum, acetoque infuso, dissolvit.”

traitors within fixed upon “a certain tower, which
 “ was built of bricks, was very large, and very dif-
 “ ficult to be assaulted; moistened it continually by
 “ night with VINEGAR,” and raised (I suppose) a fire
 against it within; “*thus rendered it vulnerable*” to the
 battering-rams of Metellus; “and he mastered the
 “ town by the treason^a.” But, what is still more
 astonishing, we have a similar incident in modern
 history, in the modern history of Europe, and in his-
 tory so modern as only the middle of the last cen-
 tury. When the duke of Guise went from France
 on his expedition to Naples, he had the same appli-
 cation made to the walls of a tower, and he derived
 the same advantage from it^b. So very clearly does
 the world appear, exercising an art for the demolition
 of rocks and stones, through a long train of ages;
 though naturalists have been wholly ignorant of it!
 So far behind the world are its very train-bearers,
 shuffling with unequal steps after it, and too remote
 to behold its very movements!

^a Dio xxxvi. 1. p. 87. Πύργον γὰρ τίνα οἱ προδίδουτες ἐκ τῆς πλειοψηφίας
 πεποιημένον, καὶ μεγίστον, δυσμαχολάστον τε οὖν, ἐξ ἧς συνεχῶς οὐκὸς δι-
 ῆριξάν, ὥστε θραύσειν γινέσθαι; and πολλοὶ ἐκ προδοσίας ἔλθον.

^b Ibid. a note. “Vide Harduinum ad Plinium xxxiii. 1.
 “ [*Saxa rumpit &c.*], qui in Neapolitanâ expeditione simili arte
 “ usum annotat.”

— V. —

IN this manner then, did Hannibal break down the perpendicular wall at the commencement of the chasm, and slope away the road down into the hollow. But to save himself the trouble and time of going too far back, in breaking up the rocks and forming his slope from them; he rendered the descent into the hollow easier, by giving it two or three curvatures in its course^c. He thus made a passage down into the chasm, for his cavalry and for his baggage. But he had a greater difficulty still before him. When the plane of the road had sunk under the force of the earthquake, it had left its two banks of rock, standing up erect on each side of it, and therefore forming a very deep, very narrow way along it. This was so narrow, notes Polybius, “that neither for the elephants, nor for the cars, was it possible to pass through the strait^d.” It was not

^c Livy xxi. 37. “Molliantque anfractibus modicis clivos.”

^d Polybius iii. 54. Τῶτον, οἱ ὥς τοις θηρίοις, ὥς τοις ὑποζυγίοις, δύνατον ἢ παρελθεῖν διὰ τῆς στενότητος. “A place, that neither the elephants, nor the beasts of burthen,” τοις ὑποζυγίοις, the draught-cattle, so perpetually does Mr. Hampton confound the ἀχθοφόροι with the τα ὑποζύγια, the horses of burden with the draught-horses! “could in any manner pass [for its narrowness].” Mr. Hampton omits the very cause of all, though assigned by his author.

possible for the cars, because of the chasm; it was not possible for the elephants, for this and an additional reason. When the earthquake, that sunk the plane of the road, left the sides of it standing up in two walls of rock; then, for want of the original counter-balance to the natural pressure of the ground on either hand, it had bent the two sides nearer to each other. It had bent them most above, because there the resistance was least; and least below, because there the opposition was most. It had thus left a road, wide enough for a passage below, but blocked up by the projecting rocks above. Yet it had actually sunk the road so deep, let us remember, that one of the light infantry could with difficulty descend into it, holding by the roots and bushes at the side. The plane of the road therefore, as I have already intimated, was sunk six or seven feet. There was accordingly room for a loaded horse and a loaded car, to pass under the rocks; though there was not for an elephant. Hannibal actually passed under them the day afterward, with all his cavalry and all his baggage; leaving his elephants, and his main body, behind him. The exigency of the case demanded an alteration in his conduct; and he hastened with his starving horses, to the fine pastures at the foot of the Alps. He passed down the descent and under the rocks, so early in the day; that he reached the lower and warmer ground, before night. There he found himself freed from the snow. There he instantly encamped, and even turned his numerous
horses

horses to graze, in some pastures adjacent to his camp; till he could be joined by the elephants and infantry above^c.

Hannibal had thus reduced himself voluntarily to the situation, in which he was compelled to rest at the hill of ambuscade before. His baggage and his cavalry were once more separated, from his main body. Even he himself was now separated also. But there was no danger of any attack upon them now, from the Salassi. If there had been, the formidable elephants were with them. The danger indeed was with the baggage, so inviting to the predatory spirit of the enemy, and so deserted now by its principal guards the elephants. This was the reason undoubtedly, why Hannibal now quitted his usual station at the head of the main body, and took the command of the cavalry. He could then ven-

^c Polybius iii. 55. Τοις μὲν μὲν ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ὑποῖς ἐκείνην ποιοῦσι παροῦν, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ διὰ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εὐθὺς διαγαγόν, καὶ καλίστρας πεδυνύσας περὶ τῆς ἐκφυγῆς πρὸς τὴν χιονοτόπην, διαφίκει πρὸς τὰς νομάς. "In one day's time there was sufficient room for "the horses," meaning the cavalry and the burden-horses, "and "the beasts of burthen," τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις again, the draught-cattle, "to descend," literally, to *pass through*: "these were immediately "conducted down," literally *through*; "and having gained the "plains," of which there is no mention in Polybius, he speaking of places only, "were sent way to pasture, in places where no snow "had fallen" (i. 364). Thus Mr. Hampton *dismisses the cattle to pasture*, instead of making *Hannibal encamp*, "in places where no "snow had fallen!" Nor does he make Hannibal encamp at all. So unfaithful is the wrong side of the tapestry, to the right!

ture, under the protection of his usual vigilance, and with the maintenance of a strong guard continually posted in his camp, to let the horses repose and reinvigorate themselves, in the grafs of some contiguous pastures. In the mean time his infantry were laboriously employed, in making the hollow passable for the elephants. They set to the work, not as on the perpendicular wall before, with all hands that could be employed upon a space so small; but, as at a work much longer in extent, sure to be also longer in continuance, and therefore much heavier in toil, by parties relieving each other. Their business was thus carried on in the mode of mining, without any intermission of labour. Their aim was to cut down the projecting rocks above, and to open them into a narrow passage for the tall elephants. This from the length of the hollow, about a thousand feet, would be a task of great labour. The elephants were starving all the while. There was grafs indeed upon the ground, but it was buried under the snow. The leaves of the trees, also, must have been shaken to the ground by those wintry blasts, which had brought on the snow^f. In their original state of wildness, elephants would have contrived to pick up a scanty

^f The larch, we must remember, was the tree of the wood in which the Carthaginians now were; and the larch, says Sæmler 323, “*abieti, pino, et piceæ affinis est, cortice quàm picea asperior, frondibus pinguioribus, mollioribus, et magis densis, quas tamen autumno amittit.*” Autumn ended with the setting of the Pleiades, and during Hannibal’s halt on St. Bernard.

meal for a while, by browsing upon the tenderest branches of the trees. But the artificial life, to which a domesticated elephant is inured, soon supercedes the appetites of savage solitude, as no longer necessary, and substitutes others that are now necessary, in their room. The poor animals had also been transported from the warmth of their native climes, and brought to encounter the blasts, the snows, the frosts of the Alps altogether. They were thus reduced to great distress. This however was but slightly produced by the snow burying the grass; as there was equally snow, and even no grass under it, during their halt of two days upon Great St. Bernard. It was occasioned therefore, by the concurrence of another circumstance with all at present. *The general stores for the army began to fail.* The Carthaginians would thus be doubly compelled by the delay at the chasm, to furnish out corn for the elephants with a very sparing hand. In this condition they and the infantry were obliged to continue, for TWO WHOLE DAYS. The men suffered severely in the continued employ. But they completed the work at last, carried the elephants along the coved hollow, and came down with them to Hannibal's.

Near

ε Polybius iii. 55. Τῆς δὲ Νομάδας ἀνα μέρος προηγεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἐκποδὴν· καὶ μόλις ἐν ἡμεραῖς τρισὶ, κακοπαθήσας, διῶγει τὰ θῆρια, καὶ ταῖς συνῆται, κακῶς διαλεθισθῆαι ὑπὸ τοῦ λήμου. Polybius here confines the labour to the *Numidians*, by whom he means the Africans in general; and so discharges the rest of the infantry from the toil, the Africans (as we shall soon see from Polybius himself) being only

Near St. Remy the road is traced by the eye of a traveller, particularly descriptive and lively; and the very view of Hannibal's chasm, I think, is pointed

only three fifths of the whole army. But to suppose that any part of the infantry was excused, is very injudicious in this historian. In such an exigency, all would be employed successively; and, only for the sake of employing all, were all kept with the elephants at the hollow. "The *Numidians* were then commanded "to *enlarge* the road," literally, to go on in *constructing* the road, "that the elephants might also pass." How strangely does it found to the ear of thinking criticism, that a road, which was large enough for beasts of burden, should be made *more* large for an elephant! This paradox results from Mr. Hampton's not understanding, and therefore not specifying, the mode in which the road was *enlarged* for the elephants, *by opening it above*. Polybius indeed specifies the mode no more than his translator, but then says nothing concerning the *enlargement*. If Mr. Hampton chose to *enlarge* the road "that the elephants might also pass," he should certainly have reconciled his *enlargement* with the context. "But "so laborious was the task," adds Mr. Hampton in the paraphrastick language which he always uses, "that, though fresh "men succeeded to those that were fatigued, it was not without "great difficulty that they completed it, in *three* days continued "toil: after which, these beasts *came down from the mountains*," literally, *passed through the strait*, "being almost exhausted and spent "with famine" (i. 364). Mr. Hampton has taken no pains, to acquaint himself with his author's course of history, and therefore mis-understands the tenour of his language. What Polybius here says of *Hannibal*, Mr. Hampton applies to the *Numidians*; and has thus made the *three* days which relate to Hannibal only, refer to the Numidians who had only *two*. See the text hereafter, for the time.—Livy also says xxi. 37, what can suit only this *middle* region of the Alps, though he has applied it himself to the *summit*: "nuda—ferè cacumina, et, siquid est pabuli, obruunt nives." There is no grass on the *top* of the Alps. There was none at the encampment of Hannibal there, as Polybius informs us. There was some, as Polybius equally informs us, only in the *middle* region of the mountains, *ὅπου μάλιστα τὴν παρὰ τὴν ὄρεα* (iii. 55).

out to us. "The villages," he says, "the towns on their elevated sites, the farmhouses on their hanging and insulated flats, arrested our attention, and embellished *our route*," as they were journeying up the hills to St. Remy: "we saw what we *had already seen* from the side of Cormayeur, A NARROW ROAD, and the gates under which we must needs pass^b; *these* being a gate at the northern side of St. Remy, through a long wall that marks the boundary of Savoy, and another about nine miles to the south of St. Remy, which is the limit of Piedmontⁱ. The writer thus glances only at the principal object, because he had described it before. "From this place," he *then* said of Cormayeur, "we had in perspective before us almost all the valley, that *we were to traverse*: it appeared very picturesque to us, in THE LITTLE STRAITS THAT HAPPEN TO ABUT THERE, the fair rocks, the verdant hills, the antient castles, THE ROAD, THAT PASSES UNDER THE PROJECTING ROCKS, along the steep terraces," &c^k. Here

^b Bourrit iii. 267. "Des villages, des bourgs élevés, des mé-
tairies sur des plateaux suspendus et isolés, charmoient nos re-
gards, et embellissoient notre route: nous vîmes ce que nous
avions déjà vu du côté de Cormayeur, un chemin étroit, et des
portes sous lesquelles il nous fallut passer."

ⁱ Sauffure iv. 222 and 219.

^k Bourrit iii. 259. "De ce lieu, nous eumes devant nous la
perspective de presque toute la vallée, que nous avions à tra-
verser; elle nous parut très-pittoresque; de petites gorges, qui
viennent y aboutir; de beaux rochers, des collines verdoyantes,
d'antiques châteaux; la route, qui passe sous des rocs en saillie,
sur des terrasses escarpées," &c.

the opposition between the road along the steep terraces, and the way under the projecting rocks, shows the latter to have the projection on *both* sides, to have *therefore* no terrace-like steepness of a bank to it, and *so* to be pushing under the rocks that (in the *literal* language of the author) come *sallying* over it¹. But, in order to appropriate and localize still more these touches of a pencilling writer, let me subjoin the hints of another author; who says that “*St. Remy, “ situated at the bottom of a VERY NARROW STRAIT, “ at the entrance of a forest of larches which lifts itself “ above it, carries with it an appearance truly wild “ and Alpine*.” This fixes all to the road of Hannibal. That road we have seen before to be particularly *narrow*, just broad enough for a burdened horse and a loaded car. That *covered way* too of the rocks, *under* which we have equally seen Hannibal pass with his cavalry and baggage, and *through* which was only an opening afterwards made to admit the passage of an elephant, would naturally become an object conspicuous and remarkable at a distance. The Romans would find the road very practicable, as Hannibal left it; they would naturally continue it, therefore, in that practicable state; and the road, so celebrated for its detention of Hannibal, for his new

¹ “*Sous des rocs en saillie.*”

^m Saussure iv. 220—221. “*St. Remy cependant, situé au fond “ d’une gorge très-étroite, à l’entrée d’une forêt de mélèzes qui “ s’élève au-dessus de lui, a une physionomie agreste et vraiment “ Alpine.*”

formation of it, and for his application of fire and vinegar in the act, remains in all its Carthaginian condition, I believe, to this very moment.

Thus were the two parts of Hannibal's army, that had been separated by this road from each other for days, once more united again. But where is the whole army at present? This seems not to have been ever considered, by the delineators of Hannibal's route. Yet the point demands our full consideration. In a long chain of movements, that extends from the lower part of the Rhone to the higher, and across the Alps into Italy; every link must be examined, every link must be found firm in itself, every link must hook closely with the preceding. To make the present do so, I must open a little the history and the geography of this Alpine or Sub-alpine region, in which we now are.

— VI. —

THE Salassi, who inhabited all this portion of the Alps which we have just been traversing, are more noticed in that comprehensive history of one nation, which infolds half the nations of the globe nearly within its circle, than any other of the Alpine tribes. They are noticed so early by the Romans, as in 75 years only after the march of Hannibal through their country.

country. We then find they had a number of *stream-works* among them, in which they discovered what is the most rare of all the metals upon earth, and is therefore made the highest signature of earthly opulence, *gold*. For the prosecution of these, they drew off the waters of their river the Doria, sluiced them away into a multiplicity of little channels, and left the main channel dry. These were in their lower grounds about the town of Aosta. Yet at the time, as the relator of this part of their history informs us, “they were the lords of the passes” over the Alps; being so in concert with the Seduni, as I have previously observed, and as the Savoyards are in concert with the Vallaisans at present. But the men, he adds, “who cultivated the plains below them,” and who must therefore have been the Insubres, as the conquerors of the Libui Galli on the *eastern* bank of the Doria, of the Taurini on the *western*, and of both at the union of the Doria with the Po; were too much affected with the loss of their current from the hills on the north, not to resent this unnatural interception of it. A kind of perpetual warfare was thus kept up between them^a. The Romans interfered in the dispute,

^a Strabo iv. 314. Ἐχει δὲ χρυσία ἡ τῶν Σαλασσοῦ, α καίτοι καὶ ἰσχυροῦς αἱ Σαλασσοὶ πρότερον, καθότι καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἦσαν κίριοι· προσλαμβάνει δὲ πλεῖστον εἰς τὴν μεταλλικαὴν αἰθερὰς ὁ ὄρος τοῦτον, εἰς τὰ χρυσοπλοῦσα· δις πρὶν ἐπὶ πολλὰς τοπὰς σχίζουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐξοχάς τοῦ ὕδατος, τοῦ κοινοῦ ρεύματος ἐξαιρουμένων τούτων ὅτι καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀποφύγετον πρὸς τὴν αἰθερὰν ὕδατος, τὰς δὲ γεωργίας τὰ ἐπὶ αἰθερὰς πεδία, τὰς ἀγροίας ἐργασίας, ἐλπίει τὴν πλείστην ἀναμεινὴν ποιεῖν τὰς χωρὰς, ὅσα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ.

pute, and so came into the country for the first time. But they interfered in their usual manner. A *general* was sent from Rome, to settle the differences *at the head of an army*. “Without any provocation,” says Dio, “he who was sent to adjust the disputes between “the *Salassi Galatæ* and their neighbours, overran all “the country of the former”.

These were not subdued, however; and continued un-subdued for more than a hundred years afterward. Then, as Appian informs us agreeably to all that I have said concerning them before, and in the restricted sense which I have just noticed, “these men “possess the summits of the Alps. Their mountains “are [almost] inaccessible, a pathway strait and difficult leads up to them; from a confident reliance

εχειν το θειδρον. Εκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας, πολέμοι συνεχεῖς ἦσαν ἀμφότεροις τοῖς ἔθνεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. They still find some grains of gold at Verrex, a little lower on the Doria; but find them in a brook that there runs into it, the Evanfon. A peasant here is also said to have lately found, on grubbing up a juniper-tree, a quantity of gold in grains to the amount of *two and twenty pounds in weight* (Sausfure iv. 199); the collection of some opulent stream-worker, I suppose, who was afraid to keep by him what he had taken pains to collect, and so buried all for a short season in design, but for many ages in reality, the apprehension which produced the burial terminating in death. Strabo adds v. 334, that there had been a gold mine at Vercelli worked before his time, καὶ ἐν Οὐερκελλοῖς χρυσωρυχίᾳ ἦν.

^b Dio lxxix. 34. Κλευδῖος—Σαλατῶας Γαλατίας, μὴ ἐγκαταμεινὸς τῇ ἐξέπληκτικῇ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις ἐπεμφοῦν γὰρ αὐς συμβέβαιον αἰῶς, τοῖς οὐροῦροις περὶ τὴν ὑδαλὸς τῇ ἐν ταῖς χρυσίᾳ ἀναγκαιῇ, διαφερομένης· καὶ τῇ τῇ χρυσίᾳ αἰῶς πᾶσαι καὶ ἔραμεν.

“ upon

“ upon which, they lived independent of Rome, and
 “ *exacted tolls from the passengers*.” This is nearly
 the conduct, which Cæsar has attributed before to
 their colleagues on the summit of these Alps, the
 Seduni; the merchants of his days travelling along
 the northern half of the road, “ at a great risk” of
 their property, “ and with great imposts laid upon
 “ them ^d.” But the Salassi actually went beyond the
 Seduni in their mountaineer’s insolence, and the risk
 was changed into certainty; the merchants being fre-
 quently plundered by them ^e. Even in the civil war
 which commenced upon the death of Cæsar, when
 Decimus Brutus fled from Modena, and pushed across
these very Alps to take refuge in Gaule; the Salassi
 would not suffer him to pass, till he had paid them as
 many *denarii* as he had men with him. They obliged
 another general of the Romans, Messala, who took
 up his winter-quarters near them, to pay for all the

^c Appian’s *Illyr.* 1203. “ Maximè autem inter omnes Cæsari
 “ [Augullo] impedimentum attulère *Salassi*, et Tapodes qui ultra
 “ Alpes incolunt, Segestani, Dalmatæ, Daïii, Pœonesque, qui
 “ *Salassi* sponte adhæserant. *Hi* vertices Alpium tenent; montes
 “ [pœnè] inaccessi; arcta semita ac difficilis ad eos ducit; quo-
 “ rum fiduciâ, propriis debebant legibus, et vectigalia a transi-
 “ untibus poscebant.”

^d Bell. Gall. iii. 1. 85. “ Magno cum periculo, magnisque
 “ portoriis.”

^e Strabo iv. 314. Πολλα κατελαπτον της δι’ αυτων υπερβαλλουσας τα
 ορη, και τα λεγρινοι εδρας.

^f Ibid. Ος γε και Δικιμων Βρυλον φυγαλτα εκ Μελιτης, υπεραυτο δραχμην
 κατ’ ανδρας. I have laid *these very Alps*, because there was no
 other road over the Alps till a few years afterward.

wood that he used in firing, in spears, or in gymnastic instruments^g. They even proceeded at last, to lay hold of some of Augustus's own property^h. "These," adds Appian, "Veterus attacked suddenly, seized the "passes [at the entrance] of their country by his insidious address, and *for two years* kept them in a kind of blockade. Obligated by the want of *salt*, "for which they were in very great distress," as our ungrateful countrymen in America frequently were, during their recent revolt from happiness and Britain; "they at last admitted garrisons into their countryⁱ." But afterwards, as Strabo informs us, under pretence of being employed by the Romans, in new-making the roads and in bridging over the rivers; "they secured the precipices of [entrance into] their country, with large parties of soldiery^k." Then "making a general insurrection against Veterus, they dismantled his fortresses, and, having secured the passes of [entrance into] their hills, laughed at the troops sent by Augustus; when they saw them incapable, of effecting any thing important against

^g Strabo iv. 315. Μασσαλας δὲ πλησίον αὐτῶν χιμαδαίων, τιμὴν ἔχουσι κατεῖναι, τῶν τε ναυσικῶν, καὶ τῶν πηλείων ἀκοιτισμάτων, καὶ τῶν γυμνασίων.

^h Ibid. ibid. Εὐνήσαν δὲ πόλιν καὶ χρηματὰ Καίσαρος ἀνδρὶς υἱοί.

ⁱ Appian 1803. "Hos Veterus inopinè aggressus, angusta locorum per insidias occupat, et per biennium obsessos tenuit. "Illic salis inopiâ adducti, quo maxime indigebant; tandem ad-
"misere custodias."

^k Strabo iv. 315. Ἐπιβάλλον κρημνὸς γραλοπίδων; προφασίῳ ὡς οὐδὲ ποικίλεις, ἢ γυμνασίου πόλιν.

"them.

“ them. Upon that account, Augustus *formally per-*
 “ *mitted them to live independent of Rome*, while his
 “ quarrel with Antony was pressing upon him; and
 “ *pardoned those, who had insulted Veterus*. From
 “ this conduct they suspected his views, drew other
 “ states into a confederacy with them, and invaded
 “ the dominions of Rome” in the country of the In-
 subres. “ But Messala Corvinus, being sent by
 “ Augustus to attack them, reduced them by *famine*;
 “ and thus did the Salassi come, under the power of
 “ the Romans¹.”

Yet they who are expressly declared by Strabo before, to have been the lords of the *passes* over the Alps; and as expressly affirmed by Appian, to possess the *summits* of the hills; are equally asserted by Dio, to “ dwell *under* the Alps^m.” All the historians are right; only each speaks merely a part of the truth. Let me for the first time give the whole. The Salassi did at once possess the summits of the

¹ Appian 1203. “ Postremò a Vetere deficientes, munimenta
 “ deiecerunt; et, angustiis locorum occupatis, qui a Cæsare ad ipsos
 “ mittebantur irriserunt, quum nihil magnum in eos conari possent.
 “ Eâ ex causâ Cæsar, instante contra Antonium bello, suis legibus
 “ degere concessit; et qui Vetere insultassent, veniam indulxit.
 “ Hæc omnia ad suspicionem vertentes ipsi, alias iterum *urbes*
 “ [the word should have been, *civitates*] congregabant, et quæ
 “ Romanis parerent invadebant; donec Messala Corvinus, ut illos
 “ expugnaret a Cæsare præmissus, fame domuit; eoque modo
 “ Salassi in Romanorum cessere potestatem.”

^m Dio liii 25. 719. Οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐκπῆσι μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς.

Alps, and dwell under the sides of them. This I have repeatedly noticed before, and shall now proceed finally to prove. "The country of the Salassi" is large," says Strabo, "lying in a deep valley" at the Italian foot of the Alps; "and the hills shut up" the country on two sides," on the Italian and on the Alpine: "*some part of the nation reaches up, to the very heights*" of the Alps "above." The Salassi thus held those passes into the "valley," which I have noticed already, and shall again notice hereafter; the passes also up the Alps, from their "valley;" and the grand pass over Great St. Bernard°. But all their lower passes were now seized with their stream-works, by the strong hand of the conquering Romans. The works were there managed, by the Roman-farmers of the taxes. These agreed to pay the inhabitants of the hills certain sums of money, to prevent them from obstructing or intercepting the waters of the river^p. The farmers, however, were

° Strabo iv. 314. Η δὲ τῶν Σαλασσίων πολλή μιν ἐστὶν, ἐν αὐτῇ καθέβη, τῶν ὄρων ἀμφότρων κλισίων τὸ χωρίον· μέρος δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνίστημι καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑπερκείμενας κορυφάς.

° The pass at Great St. Bernard is considered by the Swiss at present, on the Vallaisan side of the summit; and is equally therefore considered, we may be sure, by the Savoyards on the Italian side; as "un poste qui pouvoit être regardé comme la clef du pays" (Saussure iv. 234). It may well be so considered by both, as it is "une gorge serrée entre de hautes montagnes, d'abord un petit lac" (Saussure iv. 225).

^p Strabo iv. 314. Κραίνουσι δὲ Ῥωμαῖον, τὴν μὲν χερσαρίαν ἐξήτασαν, καὶ τῆς γῆρας, αἱ Σαλασσί· τὰ δ' ἔρη καὶ χόους ἀρκυὶ τοὺς ὕδαρ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῖς ὀρεσίωνται, τοῖς ἔργοις ἐξήτασαν τὰ χερσία.

very grasping. Protected by the power of a conquest, they could not act with fairness to the Salassi. They would soon consider such a payment, as an imposition; and demand as a natural right, what they had before received as a continued purchase. They would withhold their payments; the mountaineers would dam up their current, where they could; and threaten perhaps to divert it entirely. They could have diverted it, have turned it to the north instead of the south, and made it run into the Rhone instead of the Po; as "the defile of St. Bernard," Saussure observes, "or, to speak more precisely, the convent " which is situated upon the most elevated part of " this defile, is the point of separation between the " waters which fall into the Adriatick," by the Po, " and those which throw themselves into the Me- " diterranean," by the Rhone". The Sæduni on the *northern* part of the summit would readily have concurred with the Salassi on the *southern*, to turn the golden sands of this Alpine Pactolus into *their* country. Disputes accordingly arose, like what had embroiled them with the Romans at first. These were frequently embroiling them again; the *generals* sent among them, being always too busy in seeking occasions for

1 Saussure iv. 267. " Le Col de St. Bernard, où, pour mieux " dire, le Convent qui est situé dans le lieu le plus élevé de ce " Col, est le point de separation entre les eaux qui tombent dans " l'Adriatique, et celles qui se jettent dans la Méditerranée." See also Bourrit iii. 278.

2 Strabo iv. 314. Προς τούτους δ' ἔρχεται αὖτε διαφύλαξις, διὰ τῆς πλεονεξίας τῶν ἀλπεσιωτῶν.

war, ready to pronounce them revolters upon any signs of disaffection, and sure to find both the signs and the occasions in these differences'.

In one of those pronounced revolts, and in what is necessarily from its consequences the last; Terentius Varro was sent into their country by Augustus. He entered it by several ways at once; and thus prevented the Salassi from bringing a large army, or securing a strong pass, against him in any one point'. They could face him only in parties; and were in danger of being attacked at their passes, in front, in flank, or in rear. He therefore beat them with great ease". They submitted. He advanced to Great St. Bernard, and presented a new statue on a new pillar to the god Peninus, to the Genius of the Place, to *Returned Fortune*. But he demanded a certain contribution from the people, and in appearance meant to inflict no other punishment upon the conquered". Yet his soul was too truly Roman, for such an act; and had been too much irritated in its Roman info-

' Strabo iv. 314. Οὕτω δὲ συνειδαινε, τῆς τραχηγωνίας αἰε τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ πεμπόμενης ἐπὶ τῆς τοπικῆς, εὐφορίᾳ προφασιστῶ, ἀφ' ᾧ πολέμῳ.

" Dio liii. 25. 719. Ο Ἀυγούστου — ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Σαλασσῶν τεταγμένης Ουαρεσσῶν ἐπιμψῆς. καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἀχρησμά, ὅπως μὴ συστραφείης δυσχερῶς γενομένης, ἐμβάλλων, κ. τ. λ.

" Dio ibid. Πράττει αὐτῶν, αἱ καὶ κατ' ἐλίγους προσπιπίσσεια; σφίσι, ἐπικησῶ.

" Dio ibid. Καὶ συμπεριλαβὼν ἀργυρίων τι μῆλον, ὡς καὶ μὲν δίδοναι ἄλλο δρᾶσθαι, ἤλπισε.

lence of sensibility, by the long and continued opposition of the Salassi, not to meditate a severe revenge. He dispatched his soldiery into different parts of the country, as in order to levy the sums demanded*. He thus executed one of the most decisive plans of inhuman policy, that history records. He seized the persons of all the males. He ordered them to Ivrea, a town secured by the Romans as a bridle upon the Salassi, and garrisoned with a body of Roman soldiers. *There he sold them all, to be slaves for twenty years*†. He thus sold no less, than THIRTY-SIX THOUSAND of them; of whom *eight thousand* were capable of carrying arms‡. So very numerous was this nation of mountaineers; and so very justly did Livy characterize them in the days of Hannibal, as “a people numerous for the inhabitants of moun-

* Dio liii. 719. Καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, πρὸς τὴν ἰσπραξίην ὄντων αἰῶν. στρατιᾶς διαπεμφθῆς, κ. ἴ. λ.

† Dio liii. 719—720. Συνελαβὼν τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ ηλικίᾳ, καὶ ἀπειρότο, ἢ φ’ αὐτοῖς σφ’ων ἔτιος ἑκοστίων ἔλευθερωθεῖν. Dio appears from Strabo below, to have meant *all* the males, though he speaks only of the males *adult*.

‡ Strabo iv. 315. Παῖδας εὐαφυροπωλήσει, νεμισθείας εἰς Εὐραιδίαν, Ῥωμαίων υποκίαι ἐν συνήκισαν μέρ, φέρων εἶναι ἑξήκονται τοῖς Σαλασσοῖς—τῶν μὲν ἐν ἄλλων σωματίων τρεῖς μυριάδες ἐξήμισήσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑξακισχιλίας, τῶν δὲ μαχημῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἑξακισχιλίας. Mr. Archibald Bower in *Ant. Un. Hist.* xiii. 493 says; “Varro sent *forty thousand* of their youth to Eporedia, now Ivrea, where they were condemned to slavery for the term of twenty years.” But some one, I know not who, in xxi. 315 makes Varro “send 40,000 of their youths to the island of Yvrea, to be slaves there for 20 years.”

" rains ". So awfully too, in those measures of Providence over our world, which are principally mysterious because they are comprehensive, and lost to our views because they embrace centuries in their circuit; did Varro unconsciously punish the perfidy of the Salassi to Hannibal, and did the Romans exterminate the insidious traitors of their grand enemy! Varro then, adds Dio, " took the finest part of their " land from them ^b ;" being the very " ground," according to Strabo, " on which Varro had encamped " himself." He chose out three thousand of the Emperour's guards under him, and settled them on the spot^d. These formed a town there, which was for ages the ornament of the country, under the full title of *Augusta Prætorianorum*, under the briefer of *Augusta Prætoria*, and under the still briefer of *Augusta* only; which still remains the glory of the region, the seat of a bishoprick, and the head of a dutchy, under the same appellation (now written as it was always pronounced) of *Aosta* ^c.

The

^a Livy xxi. 34. "Frequentem cultoribus, ut inter montana, "populum."

^b Dio liii. 720. Καὶ αὐτὴν ἡ ἀριστὴ τῆς γῆς τῶν τε Δορυφορῶν τισὶν ἰδοῦν, καὶ πάλιν τῆς Αὐγούστου Πραιτωριανῶν υπομαχόμενῃ ἐσθλῇ.

^c Strabo iv. 315. Ἐν μεγάλῳ πεδυνεὶ χῆρῳ Οὐαρρων.

^d Strabo ibid. Τρισχιλίους δὲ Ρωμαίων πεμψας, ἐκίστη τὴν πόλιν Αὐγούστου ὁ Καίσαρ.

^e This city has several remains of the Augustan age, an amphitheater, a gate (now in the center of the city), a triumphal arch in honour of Augustus, a magnificent bridge of marble with one arch, and an aqueduct of only one arch, but worthy of the

Roman

The position of Aosta, then, appeared so agreeable to Varro on his reduction of these Alps; that he encamped upon the ground himself, that he took it from the Salassi as "the finest part of their country," and that he settled some veterans of the guards in a colony upon it. *This was the very ground, upon which Hannibal equally encamped now.* The "lower parts" of the Alps, notes Livy concerning the present point of Hannibal's history, "have vallies, and some sunny hills, and rivers near woods, and places more worthy of human habitation. There THE CATTLE WERE TURNED OUT TO GRASS^f." All this points directly to Aosta, and on Aosta entirely rests. A modern author accordingly speaks of Aosta, without once dreaming indeed of the similarity, but in terms remarkably apposite to those of Livy and Dio and Strabo before. "It is when we approach the city," he tells us, "that the picture is heightened and becomes more interesting; it is at the termination of four fair vallies, fertile in pasturage —; the proud mountains surround, as with an amphitheater, the fair circus that is occupied by the city, and that is watered by three rivers: this town is placed in the finest situ-

Roman grandeur. See Bourrit iii. 260—261. The triumphal arch was erected undoubtedly, in honour of this reduction of the country; and is, particularly, coæval with the colony. *This was called Aosta, just as Augusta Rauracorum is now Augst or Aug near Basil, Augusta Vindelicorum now Augsburg, &c.*

^f Livy xxi. 37. "Inferiora valles, et apricos quosdam colles, habent; rivosque propè silvas; et—humano cultu digniora loca. Ibi jumenta in pabulum missa."

"*ation*?" So truly have "the lower parts" of *our* Alps, like Hannibal's, "vallies, and rivers near woods, and places more worthy of human habitation!" So truly is the "deep valley" of Strabo described by Dio, "as the finest part of the Salassian country." Aosta, let me add from the same modern, lies so much amid Livy's "sunny hills," and in a situation so much warmer than the top of Great St. Bernard; that, when the thermometer has been down at the cypher on the latter, it has been no less than *sixteen* degrees *above* it at the former^h. Amidst these sunny hills then, by the union of these fine vales, at the meeting of these fair rivers, and close to the very site of this beautiful city; did Hannibal find the requisite pastures, for recruiting and restoring his tired horses. He relieved the laden horses from their burdens. He released the draught-horses from their cars. He turned them and the horses of his troopers, into the natural, the fruitful meadows, along the Doria and its two auxiliary currents.

This Doria rises from the lake on Great St. Bernard, as a second surprisingly does from one upon

^z Bourrit iii. 259. "Mais c'est quand on approche de la Cité, que les tableaux s'aggrandissent et deviennent plus intéressans; c'est—là où aboutissent quatre belles vallées, fertiles en pâturages—: de superbes montagnes environnent, comme autant d'amphitheatres, le beau Cirque qu'occupe la Cité, qu'arrosent trois rivières: cette ville, située dans le plus bel emplacement," &c.

^h Bourrit iii. 274.

Mount Cenis, and a third still more surprisingly from one upon Little St. Bernard¹. The first I call Doria still, because it is so called sixteen hundred years ago; Ptolemy noticing the “head of the river *Doria*, “which is at the Poenine Lake^k.” Yet it is called the *Butier* at present: and the auxiliary current, which descends by Cormayeur, and receives a current from Little St. Bernard below; but was thought unworthy of Ptolemy’s notice, though it is noticed by the Tables of Peutinger, and though the stream from Little St. Bernard is equally noticed by Strabo; has now arrogated the name of Doria to itself. It is matter of great surprise, how the common people, who enjoy in full and absolute perfection the prerogative of giving local appellations,

Vulgus, quem penes est et jus et norma loquendi;

could ever have agreed in fixing the denominations of rivers, so as to ascertain which of two uniting currents should be the denominator of the other. They are both equal in size perhaps, and yet one must sink its own name in the other’s. In this kind of matrimony between the river deities, which shall retain, which shall lose, its original appellation? Who shall prescribe the law, and on what principle shall it be

¹ Map in Berwick’s Memoirs, Orrery’s Letters 42, Map in Saussure vol. iii. and Placide’s Map.

^k Ptolemy iii. 1. p. 70. Η κεφαλή τε Δωρία ποταμός, η κατὰ τὴν Ποινιναν λίμνην.

^l Strabo iv. 312, Peutinger’s Second Table, Saussure’s and Placide’s Maps.

founded? Yet we see the law promulged by the legislature of the people, and precise in its import even where no discrimination appears to direct it. Such an agreement, upon such a subject, and among such legislators, is a phenomenon curious and striking to a considering mind. We never find any variation among the common people of one age, in the application of the covering name; but we not unfrequently meet with a change, in a course of ages. Thus the name of *Butier* has superseded that of *Doria*. This forms a kind of repeal for the original law, *the national convention* of one century, with all the petty gravity of the national assemblies of France, exercising its despotism over *names*, and, like them, imagining some secret charm to lie in the very change. Like them too, they have acted with a singular whimsicality of spirit; both being the lowest of the people, both feeling themselves in the chair of power, and both therefore wantoning in un-restrained capriciousness of conduct. Thus amidst a revolution marked by every excess of liberty, polluted by every extravagance of licentiousness, and loaded with every enormity of wickedness; the national assembly has busily employed itself for hours and for days, in forming a new nomenclature, even in forming a new almanack, for France; throwing all the *provinces* into *départments*, and superseding the names that have lasted for ages, by new names of their own creation; taking the *bonnet rouge* of their galley-slaves, and calling it the *cap of liberty*; taking a *three-coloured ribbon*

for

for the symbol of their *one, indivisible* state, and compelling every person to wear it as *the national cockade*; framing a new sort of a year, that is as *revolutionary* as their state, and *begins* with the months with which all others *end*, has no longer those of October, November, and December, January, February, and March, April, May, and June, July, August, and September, but *Vindemaire, Brumaire, and Frumaire, Nivos, Pluvios, and Ventos, Germinal, Floreal, and Priaireal, Messidor, Herbidor, and Fruetidor*; even superseding that measure of time into *weeks*, which has subsisted in all ages and nations from the very creation, and from the rest of God on the seventh day in the very act of creation^m, lengthening it out into a period of ten days, and entitling it a *decade*. In attending to such and all their proceedings, every man of feeling and reflection, I believe, has been alternately frozen with horror, at the bloody ferociousness of this band of profligates, and convulsed with laughter, at the solemn frivolousness of this parliament of conceited fools; now sees all Bedlam broke loose, and storming at the heavens over their head, in the frantick violence of their measures; then beholds all St. Luke's assembled in convention together, and grin-

^m This the Greek name for a week, *Εβδομας*, and the Latin derived from it, *Hebdomada*, plainly intimate of themselves. But, in Eusebius's *Preparatio Evangelica* xiii. 12. p. 667—668 (Cologne, 1688), we have an old writer vouching the fact for the world, even citing Homer, Hesiod, and Linus to prove it particularly for the Greeks.

ning with an idiot smile of self-applause, over the changes which they are ringing upon the bells of the state. With equal gravity, but with greater wisdom, and with much greater innocence, have the *commune* of the vale of Aosta stripped the Doria of its original appellation, and yet conferred it upon a subsidiary current.

— VII. —

I HAVE formerly shown the Tables of Peutinger, to interpolate a stage between Summum Penninum and Augusta Prætoria, and to call it EUDRACINUM. The number of miles indeed which they attach to their new town, twenty-five, and twenty-eight more to Augusta, when the whole distance was twenty-four only; shows we can place no dependence upon the measures. Yet the discovery of an intermediate town in the course of Hannibal's march to Aosta, is an useful one. Let us therefore endeavour, to fix the town. The day that Hannibal set out from St. Bernard, he plainly meant to have reached some town before night. He had yet probably the afternoon of the day remaining, when he was first stopt by the chasm. He was still marching on, and still resolute for marching. He spent the rest of the day, in attempting to do so; found all his efforts baffled by the ice, the snow, and the declivity; and was at

last obliged to encamp, not at the place intended by him, but at the head of the chafin and in the midst of the snow. All shows he meant to have reached Eudracinum, the first night; and to have been within three or four hours march off Eudracinum, when he was stopped. Eudracinum therefore appears to be **ETROUBLE**, now a *great* village upon the road, and the only *great* one upon it; lying exactly at the middle point betwixt Great St. Bernard and Aosta, just where the road of St. Bernard crosses from the right-hand bank of the Doria, which it had hitherto pursued, to take the left and follow it to Aosta". All this road, says Appian at the *beginning* of the *second* century, "is even now one among the practised roads, and denominated **THE PASSAGE OF HANNIBAL**."

The Carthaginian had thus completed his march across the Alps, and reached the Italian foot of them. Polybius therefore says, that "on the *third*

ⁿ Saussure iv. 218, coming *upwards* and from *Italy*, says, "à *demi-lieue* de la cité, le *village* de *Signaye* — ; à *une-lieue* de ce *village*, on traverse celui *Gignaud* — ;" 220. "on descend ensuite à *Etrouble*, grand *village*, à *deux lieues* de *Gignaud*." The other stages mentioned *upward* are "*village* de *St Oyen*," twenty minutes (or one mile) from *Etrouble*; "*St. Remy*, le dernier *village*," fifty minutes (or two miles and a half) from *St. Oyen*; and the convent something more than two leagues from *St. Remy* (220, 222, and 224).

• Appian De Bellis Annib. p. 546. Η καὶ πρὸ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ὁ ποταμὸς, καὶ καλεῖται Διοδοῦς Ἀννίβου.

" day

“ day he passed from the precipices mentioned before, and came to *the plains* ^p.” Hannibal, he adds, “ had now finished his course over the Alps, in FIFTEEN days ^q.” This author has already informed

^p Polybius iii. 56. Ἀννίβας κατέβαινε, καὶ τρίαιος ἀπο τῶν προερχομένων κρημάτων διανυσσας, ἡψάτο τῶν ἐπιπεδίων. “ Annibal then descended *last*,” a word having no correspondent word in the original, and standing in direct opposition to the whole narrative; “ — and thus on the third day gained the plains” (i. 364). Mr. Hampton has not observed in the original, and has therefore not noticed in his translation, that Hannibal passed through the strait with the cavalry and baggage, on the *second* day of the halt. When, in one day’s toil, he had made the road capable of admitting the baggage and cavalry, ταύτα μὲν εὐθὺς διαγαγὼν, instantly carrying them through it, καὶ κατὰ στρατοπεδεύσας, and encamping, περὶ τῆς ἐκφυγούσης ἤδη τὴν χιονοῦ τοπύς, in a region that had yet escaped the snow, διαφύκει πρὸς τὰς νομάς, he dismissed them to the pastures. So plainly did Hannibal attend the first detachment, that passed through the strait. Yet, when we see Mr. Hampton’s words, we find Hannibal remaining still at the rock. “ These,” he says, “ were immediately conducted down,” by whom? Polybius says, by Hannibal, but Mr. Hampton is mute; “ and, having “ gained the plains, were sent away to pasture in places, where “ no snow had fallen.” Mr. Hampton even takes particular pains, to suppress all ideas of Hannibal’s presence with this detachment; by omitting all notice of his *encamping*, and by placing the *pastures* instead of the *camp*, “ in places where no snow had “ fallen.” We therefore find afterwards, that “ Annibal descended *last*,” without authority in the text, and against the authority of the narrative. The fact is, that Mr. Hampton was puzzled with the mention of Hannibal *for* his *army* at the strait, *after* he was said explicitly to have passed it; did not take this explicitness, as in common-sense he should have done, for his guide in explaining the other; but took the other for his guide, and made the explicitness bend to it. He thus chose a farthing-candle for his luminary, in preference to the sun.

^q Polybius iii. 56. Ποιησάμενος τῇ τῶν Ἀλπεῶν ὑπερβολῇ, ἡμέραις πεντήκοντα.

us, that Hannibal was *nine* in gaining the crest of the Alps; that he staid *two* there; and that he encamped at the end of *another*, upon the head of the chasm. On the *third* day afterwards, he now says, Hannibal came to the plains. These several days, nine, two, one, and three, make up the sum total of fifteen. Livy also tells us, that Hannibal reached the summit of the Alps in *nine* days; that he continued *two* upon it; and that (including one employed in marching up to the chasm, and in trying to march along the side of it) he was *four* about it. He afterwards adds, with a dubiousness in himself and a reference to authority, that are very surprising amid such clearness; that, "according to some authors, he crossed the Alps in FIFTEEN days". His aggregate number coincides exactly with Polybius's, and forms just his fifteen. We thus see more satisfactorily than we could before, the distribution of his *three* days at the chasm. On the *first* of the three, he cut down his trees, heaped them upon the rock of the perpendicular wall at the hollow, and waited till a wind arose, set fire to them, beheld the rocks glowing with the intense heat, drew his lines of vinegar upon it,

† Polybius iii. 53. *Εννάλπιος δὲ διανυσας πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους.*

‡ Polybius iii. 53. *Δύο ἡμέρας ἐμείνει.*

§ Livy xxi. 35. "Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est."

¶ Livy xxi. 35. "Biduum in jugo stativa habita."

* Livy xxi. 37. "Quatriduum circa rupem consumptum."

‡ Livy xxi. 38. "Ut quidam auctores sunt, quintodecimo die
"Alpibus superatis."

and broke down the softened rock into a winding, a practicable descent. This would be sufficient employ for that day. The *second* morning he marched away with the baggage and cavalry, leaving the main body to open the nearly closing rocks above, these *Symplegades* of the Alps, for the passage of the elephants. They laboured to open them, all that day. The *third* they marched with the elephants through them, and came down in the evening to their commander at Aosta. But all shows still more, that Livy and Polybius consider the present position of the Carthaginians, as at the foot of the Alps, and within the verge of Italy. Polybius even calls this expressly, Hannibal's "entrance" into Italy; and Livy also says, he had now "penetrated into Italy". Aosta was accordingly considered so by the very Romans themselves. Pliny places Aosta precisely, "at the roots of the Alps". Pliny adds in another place, that "it is at the limit of the Alps;" and that the length of Italy is to be measured by a line, drawn "from the Alpine limit at Aosta, through Rome and Capua to Rhegium". But Solinus equally measures the length of Italy, "from Aosta through Rome and Capua to the town of Rhe-

¹ Polybius iii. 60. *Mēla δὲ τῆς ποσειδωνίας*; Livy xxi. 38. "In Italiam digressio."

² Pliny iii. 17. "Coloniz ab Alpium radicibus,—Salassorum Augusta Prætoris," &c.

³ Pliny iii. 5. "Patet longitudine ab Alpino fine Prætoriz Augustæ, per Urbem Capuamque cursu meante, Rhegium."
"gium."

“gium^b” So clearly, so demonstrably, is Hannibal now with all his army at Aosta, four and twenty miles below Great St. Bernard, and within the very confines of Italy^c! Italy then ended at the foot of the hills immediately north of Aosta, though it has now usurped upon the hills for many miles upward.

In this ever-memorable march, Hannibal had lost a number of men^d. Some had fallen by the hands of the enemy^e; in the suppression of the rebellion at Lyons, in the grand engagement at the entrance of the Alps, and in the formidable ambuscade at Luttier afterwards. Some had been drowned in the streams, which they had been obliged to cross; the rivers^f in France, the Arve near Geneva, the currents of the Vallais, the Drance and the Doria of the Alps^f. Many also had perished, at the precipices and the

^b Solinus c. 2. “Italix longitudo — ab Augusta Prætorix per “Urbem Capuamque porrigitur, usque ad oppidum Rhegium.”

^c Saussure iv. 218—224 makes the distance to be, between twenty-four or twenty-five miles. The Roman milliary above states the distance at twenty-four, and the Roman *Iter* at twenty-five.

^d Polybius iii. 56. Πολλὰς μὲν ἀπολλόμενος τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

^e Polybius iii. 66. Ὑπο τε τῶν πολεμίων.

^f Polybius iii. 56. Καὶ τῶν πείλαμων, ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ ποταμῶν. The second clause of this passage relates to the whole march from the Rhone to Aosta, and refers to the *enemy* as well as the *rivers* of the whole. But the only *enemy* that he encountered till he came to the Alps, was the rebellious party at Lyons. Here, however, the Latin translator has made strange work, rendering the second clause thus, “*ipſius denique itineris longitudo et difficultas*,” and so interpolating inſtead of interpreting his author.

defiles of the mountains^e; at the precipices of the entrance, and at the defile of the chasm. Yet he had lost a smaller number of his *men*, than of his dragoon-horses, his beasts of burden, and his cattle in the cars^h. *These*, as we have seen before, had suffered particularly at the entrance, at the ambuscade, and on the descent. He had crossed the Rhone, as I have formerly observed, with eight and thirty thousand infantry, and with more than eight thousand cavalry. But he had lost no less than TWO THOUSAND of his horse, and EIGHTEEN THOUSAND of his foot, in the march sinceⁱ. So triumphant does Hannibal appear in the eye of history, *till* the philosophy, which the Gospel insensibly breathes into every mind, steps in to recount his losses! At such a vast expence of the happiness and the lives of mankind, does he, and does every warrior, appear to purchase all his triumphs! The number of men lost is most astonishing, nearly the half of his whole army, and almost all perishing in the Alps^k. This gives the finishing touch

^e Polybius iii. 56. Πολλὰς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν καὶ τῶν δυσχωρίων κατὰ τὰς Ἀλπεὶς. "Many of his men had also perished, among the "precipices and the defiles of the Alps" (i. 364).

^h Polybius iii. 56. Οὐ μόνον ἀνδράς, ἐτι δὲ πλείους ὑππῆες καὶ ὑποζύγια; "a far greater number of the horses and beasts of burthen," the draught-cattle (i. 365).

ⁱ Polybius iii. 56 compared with the account before from iii. 60.

^k Polybius iii. 60. Σχεδὸν πᾶν τὴν ἡμισίαν τῆς δυνάμεως, — ἢ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμισίου διὰ τοῦ ἡμισίου. "This army was now reduced to less than "half—;

touch of terribleness, to the terrible representations before of his course across them. Even the remainder of his army was exceedingly shaken and harrassed, by the ascents and descents of the mountains, by the roughness of the roads in both, and by the toil of mind and body which they had undergone at the chasm¹. The sparing manner too, with which their provisions were obliged to be dealt out to them, had given an emaciated appearance to their forms^m. It was not possible for Hannibal, to carry ample provisions for so large an army through so long a marchⁿ. Even *the greatest part* of what were carried, was lost in the loss of his cars and cattle^o. The provisions accordingly began to fail, and the men were obliged to be put upon a scanty allowance^p. Numbers there-

“half —; the rest had perished among the mountains” (i. 371). This is very inaccurate; *σχιδον πυ* being “almost half.” It even appears to be very inaccurate, from Mr. Hampton’s own version in i. 371 and i. 365 compared together. So little does Mr. Hampton attend, to the precise words of the original! So little even does he reflect in one place, upon what he himself has said in another!

¹ Polybius iii. 60. Ου γαρ μοιον υπο των αναξαστων και καβασιων, ει δε τραχυήλων των καλα τα συπερβολας, δεινως τειλασ. περιηκτι το συμπαν αυτω στρατοπειδον. Polybius afterwards adds *συνιχικων των πορων*, and Livy speaks of “*muniendo fessis hominibus*,” xxi. 37.

^m Polybius iii. 60. Αλλα και τη τε επιηιδιων σπανι — κικως απηλλαττε.

ⁿ Polybius iii. 60. Ουτε γαρ διακομιζειν εις τοσαυτας μυριαδας, δια τοσων τοπων, δυνατη τα προς της τροφης, οιοι τ’ εστιν.

^o Polybius iii. 60. Α τε και παρεκοιμίζου, αμα τη των επιηιδιων καλαφθορον, και τυλων τα πλειστα συνεπαλωτο.

^p Appian 546. Των δε τροφαις αλις επληρωθη.

fore,

fore, sinking under the feelings of hunger and the pressures of toil united, neglected all attention to their persons^q. And the whole army at this moment, from the long continuance of their distresses, carried all the appearance in look and in dress, of a host of barbarians, fordid, squalid, and savage^r.

Hannibal

^q Polybius iii. 60. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ καθυφειλό παύτως ὁλοσχερῶς, διὰ τῆς ἐνδείας καὶ συνεχίας τῶν πόνων.

^r Polybius iii. 60. Οἱ γέ μιν σωμαίτες, καὶ ταις ἐπιφθονείαις καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ διαθείσει, διὰ τὴν συνεχίαν τῶν προεξηρημένων πόνων, οἷον ἀποτε-
λειώμενοι παύτως ἦσαν. Livy xxi. 39. "Ex illuvie tabeque squalida
"et propè efferata corpora."

"The present condition of his army was miserable *almost beyond expression*," a language very different from Polybius's, who says *only*, and without a boyish unmeaningness of exaggeration, that *all the army was in a dreadful condition of misery*, δεινῶς τελευταπωρῶκει το συμπαν αἰὼν τραύματος. "For besides the hardships which they had sustained from the *difficulties* of the way, both in ascending and descending the mountains," literally and properly, *not only from the ascents and descents, but also from the roughness of the roads in the passes*, "the want of such provisions as were necessary, and the *diseases* also which their bodies *had contracted* from neglect and *nauseas*," literally and briefly without any diseases, *and the total neglect of attention to their bodies*, so much less verbose and less descriptive is Polybius than Mr. Hampton! "had changed them into *spectacles of horror*." Mr. Hampton thus sets up for himself in the trade of writing history, and refuses to set any longer as foreman in the shop of Polybius! For the words rendered "had changed them into spectacles of horror," are only κακῶς ἀπηλλαγμένοι, and mean only *had made a sad alteration among them*. So much does the translator thrust his head into the clouds, when he should be walking upon earth! "While the greater part," *many*, πολλοί, "seemed voluntarily to sink beneath their sufferings, and even *to reject all thoughts both of life and safety*." Here the foreman not merely sets up for himself, but boldly ventures to kick his master out of the shop. The words in the original are only these,
literally

Hannibal therefore halted with them all, at Aosta. "After his entrance" into Italy, says Polybius, "he encamped under the very side of the Alps^s." There his first care was, to recover his harrassed soldiery^t. This he particularly attended to, exerting himself in raising their spirits, and in mending their appearance^u. He even extended his concern, to the bodies of the horses^w. He gave them all, a long

literally translated, *and*, the author assigning a reason for and enlarging upon the neglect of attention to their bodies, not passing off to another point, as in the *while* of Mr. Hampton, *many even neglected their persons entirely, because of the want of necessaries, and the continuation of toils*. But how different is *this* from *that*! Yet I can trace the derivation of *that* from *this*. The meaning of Polybius came to Mr. Hampton through a certain strainer, was misunderstood in the new form which it had then taken, and so became what it now is. The Latin version was the cause of this aberration. It says, "*multi et salutem suam ultro in hac inopia et continuis laboribus negligebant;*" and Mr. Hampton *therefore* said in his usual *loquacity* of style, "the greater part seemed *voluntarily* to sink beneath their sufferings, and even to reject all thoughts both of life and *safety*." Such has been the chemical process, in the transmutation of Polybius's *gold* into the *prince's metal* of Mr. Hampton! Yet even the very Latin is misinterpreted by Mr. Hampton. "*Salutem suam ultro negligebant,*" mean not "they seemed *voluntarily* to reject all *thoughts* both of *life* and *safety*;" but merely *they wilfully neglected their health*. The words thus, and thus only, answer to καθυφινίω καὶ σώσει. So plainly is the *prince's metal* now debased into mere *brass*!

* Polybius iii. 60. Μίλα δὲ τὴν εἰσβολήν, καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς πεδύνας ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν παρωσίαν τῶν Ἀλπίων.

† Polybius iii. 60. Τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς, ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς δυνάμεις.

‡ Polybius iii. 60. Πολλὴν γὰρ ποιημένος προοίαι Ἀννίβας τῆς ἐπιμέλειας αὐτῶν, ἀνιήσας καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀμὰ καὶ τὰ σωματῖα τῶν αἰδρωτῶν.

§ Polybius iii. 60. Ομοίως δὲ τὰ [σωματῖα] τῶν ἵππων.

repose of THREE days^x. Nor did this form the whole, of his attention to them. He certainly found a town of the Salaffi here, the capital of the Salaffi; as Aosta was undoubtedly their capital afterwards^y, and as Varro would encamp at the capital on the reduction of the country. A town too appears to have been actually upon the ground, from one circumstance in the present history. Repose might restore the wearied frames of Hannibal's men, but repose would not recruit their starved spirits. The halt of three days, indeed, would only add to their distress concerning food. Their stores would be more exhausted by the delay, and every day their allowance would become scantier. Yet we are expressly informed by Livy, that they now passed "out of want into PLENTY^z." They therefore furnished themselves with a new stock of provisions, at Aosta. They thus recovered their spirits entirely, regained their former vivacity of hope, and resumed their former vigour of resolution^a.

VIII. HAVING

^x Livy xxi. 37. "Ibi — quies — data triduo."

^y Pliny iii. 17. "Salafforum Augusta Prætoria."

^z Livy xxi. 39. "Copia ex inopia."

^a Polybius iii. 60. Μῆλα δὲ ταύτα, προσανιληφύιας ἤδη τῆς δύναμews.

"The Carthaginian general, having now entered Italy, with the forces which we have already particularly mentioned, at first encamped at the bottom of the Alps, that he might give some ease and refreshment to his troops." Mr. Hampton has thus, by the mere exertion of wantonness, transferred the words *τας αρχας*, "at first," from the *refreshment* for which they were designed, to the *encamping* with which they have no concern. Literally rendered, the passage runs thus; *after his entrance into Italy encamping*

— VIII. —

HAVING done this, Hannibal entered upon action again, by marching away with an army, which now consisted of SIX THOUSAND HORSE and TWENTY THOUSAND

encamping under the very side of the Alps, he in the first place refreshed his forces. But, as Mr. Hampton goes on, "those that were left alive, were so much worn and altered by continued sufferings, that their appearance was scarcely human." How much fainter is this picture, in its attitudes and in its colours, than the one almost immediately preceding in Mr. Hampton's own translation! What were *then* "spectacles of horror," *now* wear only an "appearance scarcely human." But, as those spectacles were only persons sadly altered, so these "scarcely human" forms are even forms "like savages," οἷον ἀπολεθηρωμένοι. The tide of language thus recedes as low, as it has mounted high before. But in Polybius the language knows no ebb, and goes on, as all language ought to go, in one progressive flood; those who were sadly altered before, being now exhibited as savages. In Mr. Hampton also, the men are "so much worn and altered by continued sufferings;" but in Polybius they are affected more specifically and more historically, by continued *toils*, τῶν πόνων. Thus, as Polybius has told us before, many neglected their persons entirely, because of the want of necessaries and the continuance of *toils*, τῶν πόνων. "The first care therefore, to which Annibal now gave his whole attention, was to raise the drooping spirits of the troops, and by proper refreshment to restore both the men and horses to their former state." Literally: "Hannibal therefore," not making it his "first" care, which is strangely recalling what he has ordered away before, and not giving his "whole" attention to it, which is adding falsehood to finesse, but "thinking much how he could take care of them; refreshed together both the minds and the bodies of the men, and similarly those of the horses." Po-

THOUSAND FOOT; eight thousand of the latter being Spaniards, and twelve thousand Africans^a. It must be agreeable to every reader of reflection, to see the exact number with which he entered upon his important war in Italy; now he was come after a march of five months from Carthage in Spain^b, to the immediate scene of action; and now he was commencing his grand career of operations, in that country. *He himself* thought the circumstance so remarkable, in the history of his Italian war; as to have it engraven afterwards on a plate of brass, and affixed to a pillar in the temple of Juno at Lacinium. In this, with the spirit that we have seen in him twice before, of a devout acknowledgment of the Power above him, and with the genius of a literary warrior, that recorded his own actions, and so anticipated his own fame; he erected an altar to the goddess particularly worshipped at Carthage, and inscribed a very long account of his exploits upon a pillar by it, in *Carthaginian* characters for the reading of his soldiery, in *Greek* for the inspection of all the neighbouring

lybius thus appears, always walking in a direct path, steadily and firmly moving on, and turning neither to the right nor to the left. But Mr. Hampton appears, moving generally in a loose and shambling kind of pace, frequently stumbling, and sometimes diverging from the road entirely.

^a Polybius iii. 60. ἔχον το διασφόμενον μέρος της μεν Λιβυων δυναμεις, αλλες μυριες και διασχιλως, της δε των Ισηραι εις οκτακισχιλως ικαταις δε της παθιας, η πλειυς των εξακισχιλων.

^b Polybius iii. 56.

nations^c. He now "marched away" with them, we hear from Livy, "to the plane country, to places "under a milder element, and to inhabitants of a "milder spirit^d." He now came therefore to a new nation, having quitted the dominions of the Salassi with whom he has been so long engaged, and entering the territories of another tribe to the south. He marched, as Livy afterwards tells us, "into the country of the TAURINI, who, on his having penetrated into Italy, were the nation *occurring next to him after the Gauls*," Dio's Salassi Galatæ, of the Alps^e. He marched along the left or eastern bank of the Doria, to the plane country of the Po, the fine meadows upon its sides, and the civilized region of TURIN. But he first adhered to the road, which he had kept so long. This goes in the Itinerary thus: "Augustam Prætoriam, VITICIVM "m. p. xxv [Tables, xxi], EPORAEDIAM m. p. xxi " [Tables, xxxiii], Vercellas^f." Hannibal therefore marched by VERREX to IVREA.

^c Polybius iii. 56. *Αὐτός ἐν τῇ σπηλῇ, τῇ περὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἐχούσῃ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς, ἐπὶ Λακινίῳ διασφαι.* See also iii. 33. *Χαλκιμασί.* Livy xxviii. 46. "Propter Junonis Laciniae templum, æstatem Hannibal egit; ibique aram condidit dedicavitque, cum ingenti rerum abs se gestarum titulo, Punicis Græcisque literis insculpto." The Lacinian Promontory is now called Capo della Colonne, and from this very pillar probably. See also Ant. Un. Hist. xvii. 270—273.

^d Livy xxi. 37. "Inde ad planum descensum, etiam locis mollioribus, et [mollioribus] accolarum ingeniis."

^e Livy xxi. 38. "In Taurinos, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat in Italiam digressio."

^f Bertius p. 22 and second segment.

“ In some minutes from the city of Aosta,” says a traveller, who has gone over all this route with very particular attention, “ the great road of Italy which
“ we have been following, passes under a triumphal
“ arch erected in honour of Augustus—. The valley
“ at the city is large and level.—Half a league from
“ the city, we remarked to the south on the other
“ side of the Doria, an high mountain, of which the
“ top was COVERED WITH SNOW, and from which
“ descends A LITTLE GLACIERE, THE LAST THAT IS
“ SEEN ON THIS ROUTE IN GOING FOR ITALY.” So much reason has Livy, for what must rather have surprized my readers at first, for placing the region of Turin “ under a milder element,” than the vale of Aosta! “ In one league and a half from
“ the city, we pass through *Ville Franche*, a village
“ somewhat considerable; and, one league farther,
“ that of *Nuz*, a pretty considerable town. A little
“ beyond *Nuz*, the valley ceases to be large and level;
“ it becomes narrow and much varied, here barren
“ and wild, there composed of orchards and meadows
“ watered by the Doria. The *strata* of the mountains
“ on our left, which from the city had constantly run” in one direction, “ appeared to change it a quarter of
“ a league from *Chambave*, which is a league and a
“ quarter from *Nuz*. The petty village of *Chatillon*
“ is a league from *Chambave*; we passed through the
“ length of it by one street, very steep, but large,
“ well-paved, divided by a channel of water clear
“ and running, ornamented with several fountains.
“ Before

" Before we reached the village, we passed by a fine
 " stone-bridge of one arch, over the space between
 " two rocks, separated to an astonishing depth by a
 " torrent, which descends from a high mountain
 " called Mount Cervin. Lower we see the ruins of
 " another bridge, which is said to have been built by
 " the Romans. The village of *St. Vincent* is half a
 " league from Chatillon: in coming out of *St. Vin-*
 " cent we enter upon a charming road, that traverses
 " fine woods of chestnut trees, and the ground is a
 " tapestry of the finest verdure. Half a league from
 " *St. Vincent*, we begin to descend along the road
 " which bears the name of *Mount Jovet*, a village
 " situated at the foot of the mountain, upon the banks
 " of the Doria. This road, cut by the hand of man
 " in the living rock to a considerable height above
 " the river, is an admirable work. We then traverse
 " a small plain of an oval form, find the rocks begin
 " again beyond it, and in twenty minutes reach the
 " little town of VERREX^s." Here therefore I fix
 the

^s Saussure iv. 175. " A quelques minutes de la ville d'Aoste,
 " le grand chemin de l'Italie que nous suivons, passe sous un arc
 " de triomphe erigé en l'honneur d'Auguste." P. 176. " La val-
 " lée est ici large, à fond plat — A demi-lieue de la cité, nous
 " remarquâmes au midi, de l'autre côté de la Doire, une haute
 " montagne, dont la cime est couverte de neige, et de laquelle de-
 " scend un petit glacier, le dernier que l'on voie sur cette route
 " en allant en Italie." P. 177. " A une lieue et demie de la cité,
 " on traverse *Ville-franche*, village peu considérable, et, à une lieue
 " plus loins, celui de *Nuz*, — un bourg assez considérable." P. 179.
 " Un peu au-delà de *Nuz*, la vallée cesse d'être large et plane —
 " elle devient étroite et très-variée, la stérile et sauvage, ici cou-
 " verte

the head-quarters of Hannibal the first night, at xxi miles from Aosta according to the Tables, at xxv according to the Itinerary, but at xv or xvi only in reality. Nor would even this distance be a slight day's march. Nothing indeed but the levelness of the country, the eagerness of the commander, and the want probably of any town short of Verrex, could have impelled the Carthaginians to make so long a march.

"Verrex," adds the same traveller, "is a pretty

"verte de vergers et de prairies arrosées par la Doire. Les
 "couches des montagnes à notre gauche, qui depuis la cité avoi-
 "ent constamment couru,—paraissent changer à un quart de lieue
 "du village de *Chambave*, qui est à une lieue et un quart de Nuz." P. 180. "La petite ville de *Chatillon* est à une lieue de Cham-
 "bave; nous la traversâmes, suivant sa longueur par une rue très-
 "rapide, mais large, bien pavée, divisée par un canal d'eau claire
 "et courant, et ornée de plusieurs fontaines.—Avant d'y arriver,
 "on traverse, sur un beau pont de pierre d'une seule arche, l'in-
 "tervalle de deux rochers séparés à une profondeur étonnante, par
 "un torrent qui descende d'une haute montagne nommée *Mont*
 "*Cervin*. On voit, plus bas, les ruines d'une autre pont, qu'on
 "dit être des Romains. Le village de *St. Vincent*, à une demi-
 "lieue de *Chatillon*," &c. P. 181. "En sortant de *St. Vincent*,
 "on entre dans une route charmante, qui traverse de beaux bois
 "de châtaigniers, dont le fond est un tapis de la plus belle ver-
 "dure." P. 182. "A demi-lieue de *St. Vincent*, on commence
 "à descendre le chemin qui porte le nom de *Mont Jovet*, village
 "situé au pied de la montagne, sur le bord de la Doire. Ce che-
 "min, taillé de main d'homme dans le roc vif, à une hauteur
 "considérable au-dessus de la rivière, est un ouvrage admirable." P. 190. "On traverse ensuite une petite plaine de forme ovale.
 "—Les rocs re-commencent—; et on vient en vingt minutes à
 "la petite ville de *Verrex*" (p. 197).

"considérable

“ considerable village, at which we stopt both going
 “ and returning. From Verrex we go in an hour
 “ and a half, to the FORT OF BARD. The village is
 “ on this side of the fort, situated in a defile very nar-
 “ row, shut in between two steep mountains. On the
 “ summit of that which is on the right or south, is
 “ the fort; and the Doria flows at the foot of the
 “ mountain. The rocks continue all along the great
 “ road, above which they are cut down perpendicu-
 “ larly by the hand of man, to the height of more
 “ than thirty feet. This is said to be a work of the
 “ Romans,” as it apparently is; “ and in proof it is
 “ they show a milliary column, sculptured in relief
 “ upon the rock itself. This column is eight feet
 “ and a half in height, and two in breadth, having
 “ the numerals xxx upon it. Beyond this column,
 “ we pass through a gate cut entirely in the rock^b. ”

^b Sauffure iv. 199. “ Verrex est une assez grand village, dans
 “ lequel nous nous arrêtâmes en allant et en revenant. — De
 “ Verrex, on va dans une heure et demie au fort de Bard.” P. 200
 —201. “ Le village—est en deca du fort—. Le village est
 “ situé dans un défilé très-étroit, serré entre deux montagnes es-
 “ carpées; sur le sommet de celle, qui est à droite où au sud, est
 “ situé le fort de Bard; et la Doire coule au pied de la montagne.
 “ Les—rochers continuent le long de la grande route, au-dessus
 “ de laquelle ils sont taillés à pic de main d’homme, à une hauteur
 “ de plus de 30 pieds. On dit que c’est un ouvrage des Romains,
 “ et on en donne pour preuve une colonne milliary, sculptée en
 “ relief dans le roc même. Cette colonne à 8 pieds et demi de
 “ hauteur, sur deux de diamètre, avec le chiffre xxx. Au-delà
 “ de cette colonne, on passe par une porte taillée en entier dans le
 “ roc.”

But I must stop my reader a little longer at *Bard*. "This valley of Aosta," says M. Bourrit, "is defended by some towns and fortresses, as that of Verrez, which is almost safe from a siege, and that of *Bard*, which is esteemed still stronger. We find also a famous road, which *the Romans cut to open for themselves a passage into the vale of Aosta*. Its ancient inhabitants, the Salassi, *defended the entrance into it a long time*;" an article of historical intelligence, that is not referred to any authority by the writer, yet is not apocryphal, but may be found in the canon of history, when *Veterus* blocked them up for two years. "The road is almost twelve feet broad: upon one side, the deep bed of the *Doria* alarms the traveller, who is yet protected by a wall of rock-stones, which those able constructors knew how to manage. The other side of the road is not less remarkable; there the rocks are cut down perpendicularly, an immense work! which is the more astonishing, because in those times they had no assistance from gunpowder and mines¹."

So

¹ Bourrit iii. 262—263. "Cette vallée est défendue par des villes et des forteresses, telles que celle de Verrez, qui est presque à l'abri d'un siège, et celle de Bard, estimée plus forte encore. On trouve aussi un fameux chemin, que les Romains taillèrent, pour s'ouvrir le passage de la val-d'Aoste. Les anciens habitants, les Salasses, en défendirent long-temps l'entrée: ce chemin a pres de douze pieds de large: d'un côté, le lit profond de la *Doire* effraie le voyageur, qui est cependant à l'abri par un mur de rochers, que ces habiles constructeurs ont su ménager. L'autre

So plainly have the Romans been busy at work, upon this pass! Here for that reason was an antient inscription set up, *commemorative of Hannibal's march along it*. "Paul Jovius and Merula, two very learned men of the sixteenth century," remarks an author, "affirm that they had seen at a pass called *Le Bard* between Aosta and Ivree, an antient inscription which had been put up there, as a memorial of Hannibal's passing that way^k." Paul Jovius was an Italian bishop, who died about the middle of the sixteenth century, and Paul Merula a Hollander, who died in the beginning of the seventeenth. The evidence, therefore, is double in nature and successive in time. What then can be opposed to it? Yet, in the active energy of critical minds at present, we are apt to carry our cautiousness into an argument, to push our very doubts into determinations, and to believe readily upon one side from a spirit of unbelief on the other. "As they took no copy of it themselves," observes the relating author; "and we do not hear of any other person or author, that ever so much as saw it; there is a great deal of reason, to believe this a little apocryphal^l." The evidence of a bishop and an Italian, of a bishop of Nocera at no great distance, and a native of Como in the very

"tre coté du chemin n'est pas moins remarquable; ce sont des rochers taillés perpendiculairement, ouvrage immense! qui étonne d'autant plus, que dans ces temps-là l'on n'avoit pas le secours de la poudre et des mines."

^k Brevai's First Travels i. 227.

^l Brevai i. 227.

neighbourhood,

neighbourhood, a scholar, and an historian, would be sufficient of itself. Such an evidence as this is competent, to support a much more important fact than that. But when a second witness is brought in to add his evidence to it, can any man of sober mind for a moment doubt the competency of both? Yet because we have not *three* witnesses for the inscription, or because the *two* did not copy it; the credulity of scepticism will believe it to be apocryphal. That credulity, which will not be diverted by less than *three* witnesses, might with equal reason call for *thirteen* or *thirty* to turn it. That scepticism, which will not be convinced by any thing short of a *copy* of the inscription, would not be convinced by that; but would doubt about the genuineness of the transcript, as much as it does now about the existence of the original. The human mind has always a proper proportion of scepticism and credulity, in it; but *this* as a *power*, and *that* as a *check* only; a power necessary to prevent life from standing still, in the hesitation and vacancy of doubts; and a check equally necessary to save the mind, from being precipitated into hasty evils and unforeseen distresses. Yet scepticism sets itself forth in the present spirit of the times, as the life, the vigour of the mind; when that vigour and that life are principally exerted in believing, when for one point doubted twenty must be believed, and when otherwise man must stand and starve and die, like the ass between two equally attractive bundles of hay. To rise to such a pitch of exactness,

as to present the very copy of an inscription to the reader; was not common in the sixteenth century, and is not necessary in any. The want of it therefore is not to be urged, in superference of positive testimony. Nor can we, without high impertinence, reject the positive testimony of *one* of these witnesses, for such a petty incident as the existence of a few words upon a rock. One indeed is as much, as we can reasonably expect upon such a subject. And one is in fact all that the objecting author ought, either in justice to the truth or in fairness to his own reasoning, to have cited as a witness; Merula giving no evidence himself, and only repeating the evidence of another. “Jovius writes,” he says, “that *letters are shown engraved upon the rocks at BARR, a MONUMENT OF HANNIBAL, who crossed the Alps here^m.*” But let us not look at the sun, by its reflection in the water. Let us, eagle-like, face its rays directly; and thus behold it in its real lustre. Jovius is much more luminous and bright, than his reflector. “Immediately after these,” he says in his description of the Alps as they are crossed *from Italy*, “follow the Alps of St. Bernard,—which lead from Ivrea through Augusta Prætoria—: THESE ROCKS ARE THOUGHT BY MANY, to have been [those which were] BROKEN UP BY HANNIBAL WITH FIRES AND VINEGAR; as at BARR, a village on

^m Merula's *Cosmographia* lib. iv. p. 526. Amstel. 1621.
 “Scribit—Jovius apud Barrum litteras cotibus insculptas ostendi,
 “monimentum Hannibalis, qui hæc Alpes trajecerit.”

“this

“ this road, in a perpetual monument to the glory
 “ of so great a commander, LETTERS INSCRIBED
 “ UPON THE VERY ROCKS SIGNIFY ⁿ.” We have
 already seen this road over Great St. Bernard, reported
 by Livy, reported by Pliny, and reported by Mar-
 cellinus, in succession, to be the traditionary road of
 Hannibal among their cotemporaries; and actually
 denominated by the Romans at the beginning of the
 second century, *the passage of Hannibal*. The Romans,
 who so believed and so denominated it, might very
 naturally put up an inscription expressive of the tra-
 dition. The soldiers, who were working in the
 formation of *this* road, and actually engraved a milli-
 ary column upon *these* rocks, at Bard; would be very
 apt to do so, as we know their fellow-soldiers to
 have engraved inscriptions concerning themselves,
 at some of our quarries in Britain^o. The inscription
 at Bard is since gone, as some of our British are^p,
 and as that upon the milliary column equally is; the
 numerals xxx being alone left upon the column, yet
 serving to show there were words with them for-
 merly^q. But it was luckily seen in its preserved state

^o P. Jovii tom. i. p. 300. “ Ad has statim sequuntur Sancti
 “ Bernardi Alpes,— quæ ab Eporediâ per Augustam Prætoriam
 “ — perducunt —. Has rupes ignibus acetoque Annibalem per-
 “ fregisse, multi opinantur; ut apud Barrum, ejus tineris pagum,
 “ perpetuo tanti ducis gloriæ monumento, literæ ipsis cotibus
 “ inscriptæ significant.” See the words also in Simler 242.

^p Horsley 267 and 299, &c.

^q Horsley, 269 &c.

^r So in Horsley, Westmoreland iv.

by Jovius, and happily noticed in a publication by him. His attestation proves its existence decisively. Yet, what forms an amazing superfluity of evidence upon such a point; and even gratifies the vicious appetite of incredulity to the full, in its craving hunger for more evidence; we find an historian of the middle ages, antecedent to Jovius by many centuries, a bishop of Italy, like Jovius, a native of a town almost as near as Como, and a bishop of a city still nearer than Nocera; strongly, though silently, referring to this very inscription and that very tradition, in saying that “Arnulph the emperour returned home out of Italy, by HANNIBAL’S WAY, which THEY CALL BARD AND MONT JOUX.”

From Bard, adds Sauffure, “with rocks continually at our side, we come to the long and narrow village of *Donax*. From *Donax* we come to *St. Martin*, upon a road continually paved and glittering. *St. Martin*, situated equally between two steep rocks, is *the last village of the vale of Aosta*; we go out of it to enter *Piedmont*, by a tolerably

* “Liutprandus Ticinensis,” who was bishop of Cremona in the 10th century (Mod. Un. Hist. xxviii. 31), “scribit Arnulphum Imperatorem ex Italiâ domum reversum esse” in 896 (Mod. Un. Hist. xxv. 263—264), “per Annibalis viam, quam Bardum vocant et Montem Jovis” (Simler 248). “Per Peninas has existimat Liutprandus Ticinensis Hannibalem in Italiam venisse, scribens Arnulphum Imperatorem ex Italiâ domum reversum per Hannibalis viam, quam Bardum dicunt et Montem Jovis” (Merula iv. 525).

“ handsome gate of cut stone, on which are the arms
 “ of the house of Savoy. Half a league from St.
 “ Martin, *we discover* for the *first* time the *plains* of
 “ Italy; we pass however *some very narrow defiles*
 “ still, and, among others, one at the village of
 “ *Monte Stretto*, the name of which indicates suffi-
 “ ciently the situation. Having passed Monte Stretto,
 “ *we quit the mountains entirely*; *we see nothing any*
 “ *longer around us but some small hills*, and even these
 “ *at some distance.*” So properly does Livy intimate
 this whole march from Aosta, though Aosta itself is
 at the foot of the Alps, to be still “ a descent” from
 the mountains! “ In half an hour we come from
 “ Monte Stretto to *Borgo Franco*, and from Borgo
 “ Franco travel to IVREA almost *constantly upon plane*
 “ *ground.*” So accurately does Livy again speak of
 this march, as one expressly “ into the plane coun-
 “ try!” “ Before we arrive at Ivrea, we cross a
 “ small hill, on the other side of which is this *town*
 “ situated; at the bottom of this hill, we enter IVREA
 “ through a gate, and sleep there. *Ivrea is encircled*
 “ *by plains*.” So exactly does the region continue
 to

• Livy xxi. 37. “ Inde — descensum.”

• Ibid. ibid. “ Ad planum.”

• Sauffure iv. 201—202. “ On vient au long et étroit village
 “ de *Donax*.—De Donax on vient à *St. Martin*, sur un chemin
 “ toujours pavé et glissant—. *St. Martin*, situé aussi dans un
 “ étroit défilé entre deux rochers escarpés, est le dernier village
 “ de la vallée d’Aoste; on en sort pour entrer en Piémont, par une
 “ assez belle porte en pierre de taille, sur laquelle sont gravées les
 “ armes de la Maison de Savoye. A demi-lieue de *St. Martin*,
 “ on

to be "the plane country" of Livy! But these successive defiles in the mountains, must have been mentioned previously to Hannibal by his Gallick guides; and have made him very apprehensive, of being stopt at them. In the hands of a resolute enemy, in the hands even of one that had only the resolution to *try* the spirit of the Carthaginians, these would have been formidable barriers to his and their advance. But they all belonged to the Salassi, who *had* tried the Carthaginians and him, and were *now* afraid to face them with *every* advantage on their side. All the wisdom of the Salassi had been consumed, in the smothered fire of their cunning; and all the bravery of the Salassi had evaporated, in the bursting flame of their perfidy. From the silence of Livy and Polybius, Hannibal appears to have not encountered the slightest opposition, at any one of these strong passes. Nor let us doubt, whether the Salassi extended their possessions so far to the south,

"on découvre pour la première fois les plaines de l'Italie; on
 "passe cependant encore quelques défilés très-étroits, et, entr'
 "autres, au village de *Monte-Stretto*, dont le nom indique assez la
 "situation." P. 202. "Passé *Monte-Stretto*, on sort tout-à-fait
 "des montagnes; on ne voit plus autour de soi que des collines,
 "et même à un certain éloignement. Nous mêmes [vinmes]
 "demi-heure de *Monte Stretto*, à *Borgo-Franco*." P. 203. "De
 "*Borgo-Franco* à *Yvrée* on marche presque toujours en plaine."
 "P. 204. "Avant d'arriver à *Yvrée*, on traverse une colline, de
 "l'autre côté de laquelle cette ville est située.—Au bas de la col-
 "line, en entrant à *Yvrée* et sous la porte même de la ville," &c.
 "Nous couchâmes à *Yvrée*." P. 212. "Dans les plaines qui en-
 "tourent *Yvrée*" &c.

as Ivrea. We have seen their possessions reaching before, to Orzieres on the northern side of the Alps, and to Aosta at the foot of the southern. Aosta we know to have been their *capital*; and all the vale of Aosta, therefore, must have belonged to it and them. This brings us down to St. Martin, the last village in the vale. But their dominions did not terminate here, as we naturally expect they should have done. They appear from Pliny, to have actually infolded *Ivrea* within their range. "*Belonging to the Salassi,*" he tells us, "is Augusta Prætoria,—*the town Eporedia,*" &c". So very extensive were the territories, of this nation of traitors to Hannibal! At this town then, twenty one miles from Verrex in the Itinerary, thirty three in the Tables, and about twelve or thirteen (I believe) in reality, do I fix the headquarters of Hannibal for the second night. Nor can we doubt the existence of a town here, in that early age; though Pliny says "the books of the Sibylls "commanded the Romans to build it". Upon such occasional, contingent, and petty points, amid many substantial and important subjects, did the books of the Sibylls touch at times; and so much more mysterious than ever in their nature, do those points render these books! Pliny can mean only a command to *re-build* it, as *he himself intimates the name to be*

▼ Pliny iii. 17. "Salassorum Augusta Prætoria,—Oppidum "Eporedia."

* Ibid. ibid. "Sibyllinis Libris a populo Romano condi jussum."

purely Gallick. "The Gauls," he subjoins, "denominate good horse-breakers *Eporedicæ*." The town therefore derives its origin with its denomination, from the Salassi *Galatæ* of Dio, and Livy's *Gauls* of the Alps; and was, what is a singular phenomenon in the history of such a people, and carries the origin of horse-races to a singular antiquity in Europe, a kind of *Newmarket* to them, a town encircled by plains for horse-racing, a town inhabited by *jockies* for managing and training the horses².

On these plains the Salluvii, Sallyi, Salyes, or Salassi had settled originally, on their migration across the Alps. They settled, says Livy, "near that an-

y Pliny iii. 17. "*Eporedicas Galli bonos equorum domitores* "vocant."

2 "*Rbeda* among the Gauls, saith Quintilian, is a word of the same signification as *Caruca* (i. e. a chariot) among the Latins. "This word is not now to be found in the British tongue; but it is apparent that it hath been in it, by the words at this day used, *Rbediad* a course, *Rhedec* [*Rhedeg*] to run, and *Redicsa* a race. For that all these came originally from *Rbeda*," rather, from the same radical idea and word as *Rbeda*, "is beyond dispute" (Camden in Gibson c. xxiv). Of the same family is the Irish *Ridire* a horseman, a knight, which, in too great partiality to our language, the Irish lexicographers derive from our English *Rider*; though the Welsh words above, and the Irish *Riub* a course, a flight, *Rithim* to run, *Rioth* running, racing, *Riothadh*, *Riothaim*, *Reatbaim*, to run, to race, by the general analogy of the Welsh and Irish, show it and our English word to be both Celtic in their origin. "*Eporedix*," says Builet ii. 545, "bon dresseur de cheval. Plin—nous a conservé ce mot Gaulois—: *Ep*, cheval, *Redya*, dompteur, dresser," rather *redsteg*, or some such word, to ride, to run, to race, a horse-

"tient nation the Lævi Ligures^a," who were the same with the Libui or Libyci, and owned the site of *Vercelli*^b, the *next* stage from Ivrea in the Itinerary. From these plains they proceeded to the Lævi Ligures on the south, conquered them, and built *Vercelli*^c. From these plains too they mounted backwards up the Alps, and spread themselves by Aosta to Great St. Bernard and Orzieres. But though on these plains, and all up the Alps, they retained their national appellation as faithfully, as the Lævi themselves did; yet among these Ligures to the south they soon lost it, and their name of Sallyi was sunk in that of Libui Galli^d. The Salassi therefore were considered as equally distinct still from the Libui, as ever they had been; and their possessions were reputed, *not* to extend to *Vercelli*. Hannibal was now at the limit of their possessions to the south; and must have entered immediately upon their independent colony of Libui Galli at *Vercelli*, if he had kept on the road which he had hitherto pursued from Martigny. But his object was *TURIN* to the right. A road actually appears in the Tables, running from Ivrea to *Turin*^e. A road equally appears there at present^f. And this road must have been, as it now is,

^a Livy v. 35. "Prope antiquam gentem, Lævos Ligures."

^b Pliny iii. 17. "Vercellæ Libycorum."

^c Pliny *ibid.* "Vercellæ Libycorum, ex Sallyis ortæ."

^d Livy xxi. 38. "Per montanos Salassos ad Libuos Gallos."

^e Second Segment.

^f Map of Savoy, Piedmont, and Montserrat, in maps for Mod. Un. History.

a principal one; ever since Turin extended its authority, as I have shown it once did, and as it now does, up to the very summit of Great St. Bernard^g. This Hannibal was at present to pursue. He accordingly crossed the Doria, left the region of the Salassi, and entered the immediate country of the Taurini. This was *then* the region probably, which is now confined by the Doria on the east, the Po on the south, and the Chison on the west^h. The Taurini were thus, as Polybius states them to be, “at the foot of the Alpsⁱ.” Pliny speaks accordingly of Turin itself, as equally with Aosta “at the roots of the Alps^k.” But how is it, that two such distant towns should have the same position; and that, after our long march with Hannibal from Aosta, out of the mountains, into the plane country, and to the very banks of the Po, we are still at the roots of the Alps? The fact is, as both Pliny and Strabo have observed; that the Alps form a kind of crescent or bay along the north of Italy, that Turin lies under the western horn or promontory of it, and that Aosta lies deep in the hollow^l.

These

^g See vol. i. chap. iv. sect. 7, vol. ii. chap. i. sect. 1, and Bourrit iii. 263, “sur la route de Turin” from Aosta.

^h See map. Hence “Finis” or *Fenestrelle* on the Chison, as the boundary at once of the Taurini, the Alps, and Italy!

ⁱ Polybius iii. 60. *Τῶν Ταυρινῶν, αἱ τυγχάνουσιν πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοὺς ὄρους.*

^k Pliny iii. 17. “*Coloniæ ab Alpium radicibus, Augusta Taurinorum,—deinde Salassorum Augusta Prætoria.*”

^l Pliny iii. 5. “*Alpium penè lunatis jugis;*” Strabo ii. 190.

These Taurini, as Polybius informs us, "were then in a rebellion against the Insubres^m." Livy also adds, that "they were in a state of warfare," though he forgets to notice the *rebellious* nature of the warfare, "against themⁿ." For this reason, as I have formerly observed, Polybius in another place mentions Hannibal, "*when he had finished his passage over the Alps in fifteen days, to have advanced boldly into the plains upon the Po and the country of the Insubres^o.*"

These Taurini were likewise, as Polybius goes on to tell us, "distrustful of the Carthaginians^p." They might well be so. Their king Magalus, whom they had deposed, had gone to meet the Carthaginians in Gaule, and was come with them now. "Hannibal at first," and during the repose of his army at Aosta, had "endeavoured to draw them into amity with

Τῶν δὲ Ἀλπίων περιφέρῃ περὶ τῶν γραμμῶν τοῖς μὲν κυρίως ἑσραβίαις πρὸς τὰ — τῶν Κελτῶν πρὶν, — τὸ δὲ κοίλον πρὸς τῇ Λιγυρικῇ καὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, Strabo v. 323. Τῶν μὲν Ἀλπίων περιφέρῃς ἡ ὑπὸ ῥαῖα ἐστὶ καὶ κολπωδὴς, τὰ κοίλα ἔχουσα ἑσραμμένα πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν· τὸ δὲ κολπὴ τὰ μὲν μίση, πρὸς τοῖς Σαλαυσοῖς ἐστὶ.

^m Polybius iii. 60. Τῶν Ταυρίνων — τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν πρὸς τῆς Ἰσούρας.

ⁿ Livy xxi. 39. "Taurinis, proxima genti, adversus Insubres "motum bellum erat."

^o Polybius iii. 56. Ποιησαμένου τῇ τῶν Ἀλπίων ὑπερβολῇ ἡμεῖς περικαλίδεια, καὶ τῇ εὐλαΐᾳ εἰς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Πιάδου πεδία, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰσούρων ἔθνος.

^p Polybius iii. 60. Ἀπερῶν δὲ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.

"him,

"him, and an alliance against the Romans." But he found his overtures rejected, as "they would not agree to this". The restoration of their exiled monarch, and their own submission to the authority of the Insubres, were the necessary conditions of such an amity and such an alliance. He therefore marched to reduce those by violence, whom he could not bring over by solicitations. "He moved out of his camp of rest," Livy says; "and one town of the Taurini, the CAPITAL of the nation, because they would not come into the proposed amity with him, he took by storm; and would have associated all the Gauls along the Po to him, not merely through fear, but also with their own good-will," if the Roman army under Scipio had not been now coming up. "He encamped around their GREAT-EST city," we learn from Polybius, "and in three days took it by storm. And, *having put his opponents to the sword*, he struck such a terror into the neighbouring Barbarians, that they all came to him immediately, and resigned themselves up to

¹ Livy xxi. 39. "Armare exercitum, ut parti alteri [the Insubres or the Taurini] auxilio esset, *in reficiendo*—non poterat," compared with Polybius iii. 60, το μὲν πρῶτον εἰς φίλων πρηνεστάτην καὶ συμμαχίαν.

² Polybius iii. 60. Οὐχ' υπακούσαν.

³ Livy xxi. 39. "Jam ex stativis moverat Hannibal; Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis ejus, quia volentis in amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat; junxisseque sibi, non meum solum, sed etiam vpluntate, Gallos accolae Padi, ni" &c.

who, as *Gauls*, must have been highly gratified with the blow; but into all *the subject Taurini*, who alone could be terrified by it, and who were not Gauls but Ligurians"; "that they came to him immediately," submitted to his arms, "and resigned themselves up "to his will." He thus restored Magalus, to his previous authority over the Taurini; and secured all the assistance, that Magalus could furnish to the Carthaginians in their future war. The Taurini therefore are such "of the" mis-called "*Gauls* along the "Po," as Livy says Hannibal "would have associated to him—through fear," if the Romans had not been coming; and whom he *actually* associated, as we see in Polybius, by that the most binding of all principles in the human mind. The other, the *real*, "*Gauls* along the Po," whom (according to Livy again) he "would have associated to him—with "*their own good-will*," if the Romans had not been coming; were the *INSUBRES* and the *BOII*, who had sent embassadors to him, who had *then* avowed themselves "eager to share with the Carthaginians "in their battles with the Romans," and were now restrained from executing their intentions by the Roman advance. With so much confusion in circumstances, do both Polybius and Livy conclude their account of Hannibal's Alpine march! The

* Pliny iii. 17. "Taurinorum antiqua Ligurum stirpe."

* Polybius iii. 44. Τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡ περὶ θυμῶν, καὶ ὡς μάλιστα ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀγῶνάν τε, καὶ τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων διανοίας.

Romans advanced, but were beaten; and the Boii, the Insubres, made a general insurrection in favour of Hannibal*.

I have thus conducted Hannibal from Lauriol on the Rhone in Dauphiny, to Turin on the Po in Piedmont. I have taken him stage by stage, and step by step, through this long labyrinth of nations; as the concurring narratives of Polybius and of Livy, have held out the clue. Geography has united with history, the present nature of the ground with the ancient descriptions of the sites, and the Itinerary of Rome with the traditions of the Romans, to confirm *their* narrative and *my* account. I have pointed out also the grand reasons, that actuated the mind of Hannibal, and directed the movements of the Carthaginians under him. I have thus thrown a new and strong light, I presume, upon this important portion of history. I have particularly fixed the line in which he crossed the Alps, for the *first* time in a *single* part of his course, and for the *last*, I trust, in *every* part of it. One part indeed comes in to support another; while all form such an accumulative series of proofs, as no other kind of argument can possibly boast, and as raises this (I flatter myself) into a superlative sort of demonstration. Evidence

* Polybius iii. 66.

has been successively added to evidence, like hill piled upon hill, till the whole (I think) has risen into a mountain like its own St. Bernard; towering with its head over the history, as that does over the globe; leaving all the clouds at its feet, and showing the sunshine in a burst of radiance upon its sides.

THE END.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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6. note, line 7. *for* τρατιώπων *read* τρατιώδων
 7. note, line 7. *for* l'ancien *read* l'ancienne.
 11. text, line 8. *for* LAURIOL, again *read* LAURIOL again.
 15, note, line 6. *for* συντομός δια ουκοσίων *read* συντομός δια
 Ουκοσίων.
 ——— line 7, *for* λιγυσις *read* Λήγυσις.
 ——— line 10, *for* Αλιπολις *read* Αλίπολις.
 ——— line 11, *for* Ουγγερικα *read* Ουγγερικα.
 25, note, line 9-10, *for* υπερθισις *read* υπερθισις.
 39, note, line 12, *for* διαβασσις *read* διαβασις.
 40, note, line 4, *for* αποκορυφισιν *read* αποκορυφισιν.
 54, note, line last, *for* menti *read* monti.
 61, note, line last, *for* των *read* των.
 86, text, line 12, *for* from Lyons *read* from some point he
 knows not what near St. Rambert, a few miles to the
 south of *Vienn*, and many to the south of *Lyons*.
 94, note, line 11, *for* Lyon *read* Nyon.
 96, text, line 8, *for* Lyon *read* Lyons.
 97, note, line last and last but one, *dele* among the Greeks.
 107, note, line 2 and 3, *dele* and, *then* *subjoin* to Scotland, and
 we have *Orcum* on the Alps before.
 131, text, line 7, *for* appropriated hereafter *read* appropriated
 before and hereafter.
 150, note, line 2, *for* ηδωλιν *read* Μηδωλιν.
 156, note, line 4, *for* Χονων *read* Χισων.
 189, note, line last, *for* im *read* in.
 190, note, line 11, *to* since *add* *thus*. This castle was called
 La Bathia (Coxe i. 392, Sauffure iv. 316); and has
 lent its name, I find from private information, to its
 part of the town of Bourg.

196, text, line 16, *for* Paritii *read* Parisii.

209, note, line 2, *for* εἰς τὴν ἰσθμὸν πεζῶν *read* τὴν ἰσθμὸν πεζῶν.

210, note, line 6, *should run thus*, Saussure iv. 288-289. "Les
" rochers sont escarpés au-dessus de la rive *droite* du
" torrent," in coming *down* the Alps, "mais eboulés
" sur la *gauche* que nous suivons." Afterwards, "on
" *traverse* la Drance, et on passe *au pied* de ces ro-
" *chers*." This shews the *ascent*, to be immediately
on the *left* of the Drance; and so supercedes the tes-
timony of a neighbouring gentleman, who in a letter
of reply to my inquiries has asserted it, to be on the
right. "La route, large et bien entretenue."

— note, line 9, *for* pic *read* pic.

211, note, line 17, *read thus* mile, something short of an Eng-
lish one (Misson, preface xxxviii. and ii. 2).

225, note, line last, *for* Tapidis *read* Japidis.

236, note, line 4, *read thus* reality; and some private infor-
mation, which I have received in a letter from the
Vallais, confirms both.

243, note, line 13, *for* Βαγῶν *read* Βαγῶν.

246, note, line 3, *for* in *read* is.

258, note, line 6, *read thus* incedebat." This account is very
lively, doing honour equally to Hannibal and to
Livy.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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- 1, text, line 3, *for on read upon.*
 9, note, line 18, *for ἀπὲ κλισίῃ read ἀπὲ κλισίῃς.*
 12, note, line 5, *read thus sunt.* Livy also, in Epitome LXI, calls those Gauls of Marseilles Salluvii.
 79, note, line 3, *for ἐπαυροῦ read ἐπαυροῖν.*
 86, note, line 1 and 2. *read thus only* Simler selects Mount Genève.

———, line 10, *read thus* P. 220. But Keyfler, in a reference to oral authority, selects another hill. “On the left hand,” he says, “betwixt Fertiére and No-valese,” in the *descent* from Mount Cenis towards Italy, about *one league and a half only from Susa*, equally with Fenestrelles within modern Italy, and not much higher up the Alps than M. Dutens’s own hill; “is the mountain of Rochemelon,” so called, I suppose, as the melon-shaped rock, “accounted the highest of all the *Italian* Alps. From hence it seems to join with the great chain of mountains; but *a deep valley lies between.* The ascent up this mountain is *a day’s journey*——. After all the toil of getting up *this prodigious acclivity*, one may happen to come there at an unlucky time, and *be obliged to wait for fair weather to come down again*; but, in a *clear sky*, the toil must be acknowledged to be well rewarded, by an astonishing prospect——. Some have imagined *this* to be the mountain, from whence Hannibal encouraged his army by a *view of the splendour and fertility of Italy.*” They, who have so “imagined,” must have consulted no other faculty of their mind except their *imagination*. Even

if Hannibal had crossed Mount Cenis, he must have gone a whole day's march out of his road with all his army, to have the chance of "a clear sky" in the end of October, to encounter the certainty of "an unlucky time," and then "be obliged to wait for fair weather to come down again." Such Hannibals does an un-historical mind form for itself! "Mafis is annually said at this place, on the 5th of August. "Thousands of people repair thither from the neighbourhood, — climbing over ice and snow" on the 5th of August; when Hannibal must have gone thither on this lunatick employ, at the very end of October. See Keyser i. 237, 236, 238. Keyser often nods in his travelling waggon of Germany, but is fast asleep here.

88, text, line 16, *read thus* mouth of the Po.^a But the &c. *then subjoin this note* ^a. Keyser accordingly gives us from his hill, "an astonishing prospect over the *Milaneze*," the "*Trevigiana*," and "*Venice*" (i. 237).

118, text, line 8, *read thus* below ^c. It is in fact very steep and very narrow, I find from private information, having its precipice for the first mile from St. Bernard upon the *left*, and then as far as St. Remy on the *right*. It was thus a mere pathway along the side.

120, note, last line, *for* "*ò nous*" *read* "*où nous*."

150, note, last line, *read thus* paroxysm? I suppose it certainly would; and I recommend the trial of it to some young physician. Success with it would establish his reputation for ever.

185, note, line 2, *for* Tapodes *read* Japodes.

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